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THE

# CATHOLIC CHURCH

IN

# COLONIAL DAYS.

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES—THE OTTAWA AND ILLINOIS COUNTRY—LOUISIANA—FLORIDA—TEXAS—NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA.

1521—1763.

*WITH PORTRAITS, VIEWS, MAPS, AND FAC-SIMILES.*

BY

JOHN GILMARY SHEA.

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1886.

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THE PRESENT VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

# PREFACE.

THE History of the Catholic Church in the United States from the earliest period is a topic which was planned and laid out by abler hands than his who, yielding to the wishes of friends throughout the country, now presents the first of a series of volumes.

The earliest project, that of the Rt. Rev. Simon Bruté, the great Bishop of Vincennes, "Catholic America," a work intended to consist of 400 pages octavo, was to give an outline of the history of the Church in South America, Mexico, Central America, and Canada, before taking up the annals of religion in the Thirteen Colonies, and under the Republic. The sketch would have been necessarily very brief, and from the heads of chapters, as given by him, would have been mainly contemporary. Unfortunately Bishop Bruté seems never to have begun the work.

The Rev. Dr. Charles I. White, author of the elegantly written Life of Mrs. Eliza A. Seton, had also proposed to write a History of the Church in this country, and with Colonel Bernard U. Campbell collected much relating to the early history of religion in Maryland, and drew a rich fund of material from the archives of the Society of Jesus and of the See of Baltimore. His library contained many volumes to aid him in his work, especially for the French missions at the North, but not for the Spanish territory at the South. It would seem, however, that he never actually wrote any

part of his projected work, nothing having been found among his papers, except a sketch of his plan.

While the labors of the learned bishop and priest never appeared for the instruction and encouragement of the Catholic body in this country, a contribution to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States was made by a French gentleman sojourning in our land. Henri de Courcy de la Roche Héron, one of the collaborators under Louis Veuillot in the Paris "Univers," an excellent Catholic, noble, talented, and gifted with keen appreciation and judgment, became engaged in mercantile affairs in New York. He continued his contributions to the "Univers," and finding that the ideas he had imbibed in France as to the history of the Church in this country were very incorrect, he set to work in his leisure moments to obtain from the best sources accessible a clearer and more accurate view. He was encouraged by many high in position in the Church. Bishop Bruté's papers were opened to him; he received important aid from Archbishop Kenrick and from bishops and priests in all parts of the country. I placed at his disposal the books and collections I had made. In time he began a series of articles in the "Univers." They attracted attention, and I translated them for some of our Catholic papers. When his articles had treated of the history of the Church in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York in part, declining health compelled him to return to Europe, where he soon after died. His articles were never collected in book form in French, but the English translation was issued here, and has been for some thirty years the most comprehensive account accessible of the history of the Church in this country. He treated the subject from his point of view as a French Legitimist, and while I respected him, in many cases I could not share his ideas; I simply translated his words. It is a stigma on

us that the memory of this gallant Christian gentleman has been more than once cruelly assailed. He had not assumed to instruct American Catholics in the history of their Church, and did not write for them, or seek to press his work on their notice. He wrote honestly, and in good faith, after greater research than any of our own writers had given to the subject. That his work, abruptly closed by death, has done service, is evident from the constant references to it by all who have since written on the history of the Church in this republic, although it treated only of a very limited part of the subject.

No other general work has appeared on the history of the Catholic Church in the United States, but local histories and biographies have gathered and preserved much to interest and edify. These works bear especially on New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Kentucky, Oregon, and California, the members of the Hierarchy in general, and especially Lives of Archbishop Carroll, Archbishops Hughes, Spalding, Bishops Cheverus, Flaget, England, Neumann, Prince Galitzin, Father Jogues, Rev. Mr. Nerinckx, Mother Seton, etc. As a rule they treat of a period more recent than that embraced in this volume.

In preparing the work I have used a collection of printed books and unpublished manuscripts, made patiently and laboriously by many years of search and enquiry; and embracing much gathered by my deceased friends, Buckingham Smith, Esq., Col. B. U. Campbell, Rev. Charles I. White, D.D., Rev. J. A. Ferland, and by Father Felix Martin, S.J. I have been aided in an especial manner by access to the archives of the diocese of Baltimore, afforded me by His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons; to those of the diocese and Seminary of Quebec by His Eminence Cardinal Taschereau, who has enabled me also to profit by his own researches; to those of the Maryland and New York Province of the Soci-

ety of Jesus, afforded by the Very Rev. Robert Fulton, and for documents obtained from Rome by the kindness of the Most Rev. Michael A. Corrigan, D.D., Archbishop of New York, and Very Rev. H. Van den Sanden; from the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Havana through Bishop Moore, of St. Augustine, and Mr. William C. Preston. Great assistance was afforded by the early registers of St. Augustine, Mobile, Pensacola, Detroit, Kaskaskia, Vincennes, San Antonio, and other Texan missions, for which I was indebted to Rt. Rev. Bishops Moore, O'Sullivan, Borgess, Chatard, Neraz, and the Very Rev. Administrator of Alton. Besides the material thus obtained, the colonial newspapers down to 1763 were examined as far as possible, with very scanty result indeed, to obtain what scattered notices of Catholic life might be found in the columns of those early journals. I am also indebted to the Royal Academy of History, Madrid, for important papers, and to Mr. Sainsbury and Rev. J. H. Pollen, S.J., for documents from the British archives. To Señor Bachiller y Morales, the Lenox Library, the New York, Maryland, and Wisconsin Historical Societies, I owe much.

The work which I have endeavored to do carefully and conscientiously, has cost me more labor and anxiety than any book I ever wrote; it has caused me not seldom to regret that I had undertaken a task of such magnitude. To my fellow-students of American History, from whom I have for so many long years received encouragement, sympathy, and aid, I submit my work with some confidence, trusting to their past courtesy and kindness. New light is to some extent thrown on the voyages of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Captain Weymouth, on Ayllon's voyage, and the general history of Virginia, Georgia, and Florida, on the Capuchins in Maine, the New Mexico missions, and the development of the Catholic Church in the Mississippi Valley and Texas.

From those of my own faith I ask forbearance, hoping that the volume may prove of some service till a writer with a clearer head for research, more patience in acquiring the necessary books and documents, and greater knowledge and skill in presenting the results affords the Catholics of the United States a book adequate to the subject.

The worthies of the early American Church and its monuments are, as a rule, overlooked in the general and local histories of the country. For this reason no expense has been spared to obtain and present fittingly portraits of the most distinguished personages, views of the oldest chapels, institutions, and sites connected with the Church, relics of the last centuries, fac-similes of Registers, and of the signatures of bishops, priests, and religious, whose labors are recorded in these pages.

At the solicitation of a venerated friend, I have given the authorities in my notes, although scholars generally have been compelled to abandon the plan by the dishonesty of those who copy the references and pretend to have consulted books and documents they never saw, and frequently could not read.

For aid in obtaining illustrations I am indebted to Rev. Father Macias, of Zacatecas, the venerable Father Felix Martin, the Jesuit Fathers in Maryland, George Alfred Townsend, Esq., Professor Butler, Justin Winsor, Esq., and others, to all of whom I express my sincere thanks, as I do to Gen. John S. Clark for his invaluable topographical guidance, and the clear and accurate mission map of New York.

JOHN GILMARY SHEA.

ELIZABETH, N. J., *October*, 1886.

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# INTRODUCTION.

The Catholic Church is the oldest organization in the United States, and the only one that has retained the same life and polity and forms through each succeeding age. Her history is interwoven in the whole fabric of the country's annals. Guiding the explorers, she left her stamp in the names given to the natural features of the land. She announced Christ to almost every native tribe from one ocean-washed shore to the other, and first to raise altars to worship the living God, her ministry edified in a remarkable degree by blameless lives and often by heroic deaths, alike the early settlers, the converted Indians, and those who refused to enter her fold. At this day she is the moral guide, the spiritual mother of ten millions of the inhabitants of the republic, people of all races and kindreds, all tongues and all countries, blended in one vast brotherhood of faith. In this she has no parallel. No other institution in the land can trace back an origin in all the nationalities that once controlled the portions of North America now subject to the laws of the republic. All others are recent, local, and variable. She alone can everywhere claim to rank as the oldest.

The Church is a great fact and a great factor in the life of the country. Every man of thought will concede that the study of the history of that Church in its past growth and vicissitudes, and of her present position, is absolutely necessary in order to solve the problems of the present and the

future in the republic, for the influence of an organization fixed and unwavering in doctrine, polity, and worship, must be a potent element, and cannot be ignored or slighted.

But while from the student and the statesman the history of the Church claims serious consideration, to the Catholic that history is a record full of the deepest interest and consolation, a volume to which he can appeal with pride. The pages teem with examples of the noblest and most heroic devotedness in the priesthood, of the beneficent action of the Church where she was free to do her work, of self-sacrifice in the laity, in generous adherence to the faith by the flock amid active persecution, insidious attacks, open violence, and constant prejudice, where Catholics were few amid a population trained in unreasoning animosity.

The Catholic Church in this country does not begin her history after colonies were formed, and men had looked to their temporal well-being. Her priests were among the explorers of the coast, were the pioneers of the vast interior; with Catholic settlers came the minister of God, and mass was said to hallow the land and draw down the blessing of heaven before the first step was taken to rear a human habitation. The altar was older than the hearth.

The entrance of the Catholic Church was not the erratic work of a few. It was part of her work begun at the fiery Pentecost, carried on from age to age with unswerving course, while all human institutions were changing and modifying around her. The command of our Lord to His apostles to go and teach all nations, rested as an injunction on the bishops of the Church in whom the missionary spirit became inherent. The Church was constantly pushing forward into new lands, priests commissioned by bishops bearing the faith, ministering to those who accompanied them, remaining to convert those whom they found.

Priests sent out from Ireland, and subsequently from Scandinavia reached Iceland, and in time a church grew up in that northern island with bishops, churches, convents. Advancing still onward in the unknown seas the Northmen landed in Greenland, and Catholicity was planted on the American continent by priests from Iceland, and in 1112 the See of Gardar was erected by Pope Paschal II., and Eric was appointed the first bishop. Full of missionary zeal, this prelate accompanied the ships of his seafaring flock, and reached the land known in the Sagas of the North by the name of Vinland, as an Irish bishop, John of Skalholt in Iceland, had already done. How far southward the navigators of the north and their spiritual teachers carried the cross and the worship of the Catholic Church, it is not our province to decide.

When Columbus revealed to Europe the existence of rich and fertile islands accessible from Spain, the ministers of the Church came. Priests accompanied the vessels with faculties from the bishop in whose diocese the port of departure lay, and where they remained in the new land the bishop's jurisdiction continued till a local ecclesiastical government was formed. Thus the See of Seville acquired a jurisdiction in the New World where the standard of Spain was planted, and she became the mother of the earliest churches in America. Not inaptly, the Cathedral of Seville preserves in her treasury a monstrance made of the first gold taken to Europe by Columbus, for the first-fruits of the precious metals of the New World were dedicated to the service of Almighty God in the Catholic Church. The See of Santo Domingo was erected by the Sovereign Pontiff in 1512, that of Santiago de Cuba in 1522, that of Carolensis in Yucatan in 1519, and of Mexico in 1530. These followed up the work of Seville, the bishops of the new Sees sending priests commissioned by them to

bear the faith northward till the territory over which our flag now floats was reached and the cross planted.

The Church of Spain with her array of doctors and saints from an Isidore and a Leander, a Hosius, a Thomas of Villanova, was thus extended to our soil, and her priests offered the first worship of Almighty God on the shores of Florida, of the Chesapeake, in the valleys of the Mississippi and the Rio Grande. The work was followed up, and though the soil was reddened with the blood of many a priest who won the martyr's crown, there was no faltering, the work went on till in time bishops came and every sacrament of the Church was duly administered in that portion of our territory.[1]

Our alliance with the Catholic Church in Spain is not a mere episode. The first bishops of Louisiana and Mobile were suffragans of Santo Domingo and of Santiago de Cuba; the first bishop of California a suffragan of Mexico, while Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona were in our time detached from dioceses which trace their origin to the glorious Church in Spain.

Soon after the vessels of Columbus bore back the startling news of great discovery, a ship from Bristol, under Cabot, in 1497, bore to the northern shores of our continent the first band of English-speaking Catholics, and within five years, a priest, we know, crossed the Atlantic to administer the rites of religion to his countrymen in America, offer the holy sacrifice and announce the gospel in our tongue.[2] Thus Catholicity came from the land of a St. Anselm, a St. Thomas of Canterbury, a St. John of Beverly, whose Church in the next century, while crushed like the primitive church by the State power of unbelieving rulers, extended her limits

[1] Gams, Series Episcoporum, Ratisbonne, 1873, pp. 334, 336; Torfaeus, Historia Vinlandiæ, p. 71.

[2] Harrisse, "Jean et Sebastian Cabot," Paris, 1882, p. 270.

to the shores of the Chesapeake, the Church of Catholic England reviving the work of the earlier Spanish pioneers of the faith.

Close on Cabot came French explorers. Cartier sailed with the blessing of the Bishop of St. Malo, and with priests to whom he gave faculties, and in after years Champlain founded Quebec, where altars were raised, and priests began their ministry, acknowledging as their ecclesiastical Superior the Archbishop of Rouen, who for years governed Canada as part of his diocese, through Vicars-General appointed by him, and even towards the close of the century gave powers to priests under which they offered the sacrifice of the mass and ministered to colonists in Texas.

The Church knew no limits to her conquests. Her jurisdiction was extended as by a natural instinct over the whole land. It was never bounded by the mere limits of white settlements. Father Padilla, dying alone near the banks of the Missouri, to which he had penetrated, was still in the diocese of Mexico; Hennepin at the Falls of St. Anthony, Marquette at the Arkansas, Douay at the mouth of the Mississippi, were in the diocese of Quebec. The first Catholic settlers in Oregon were from Canada, and the priest sent to minister to them went as Vicar-General of Quebec, to become in time Bishop and Archbishop of the distant flock he crossed the continent to serve.

The Church has thus a continuous existence in this country, continuous in episcopal jurisdiction, in priestly work, in the faithful who clung to her altars.

In the earlier period, where three great European nations laid claim to different portions of our territory, the history of the Church is to be traced in three different channels, descending from England, France, and Spain. No greater contrast could be found than that of the colonial spirit of

the three nations. Spain, by her government under the vast system inaugurated by Philip II., planned, directed, controlled every department of colonial administration. Every new colonization was settled in detail in Spain. The bulls of the Sovereign Pontiffs made the King of Spain their Vicar in America, the tithes were assigned to him, the nomination of bishops was in his hands, the support of the ministry and the missions was devolved upon him. Portions of the royal revenue were then assigned by him to great religious works, and churches, convents, universities and schools arose without direct contribution by the people.

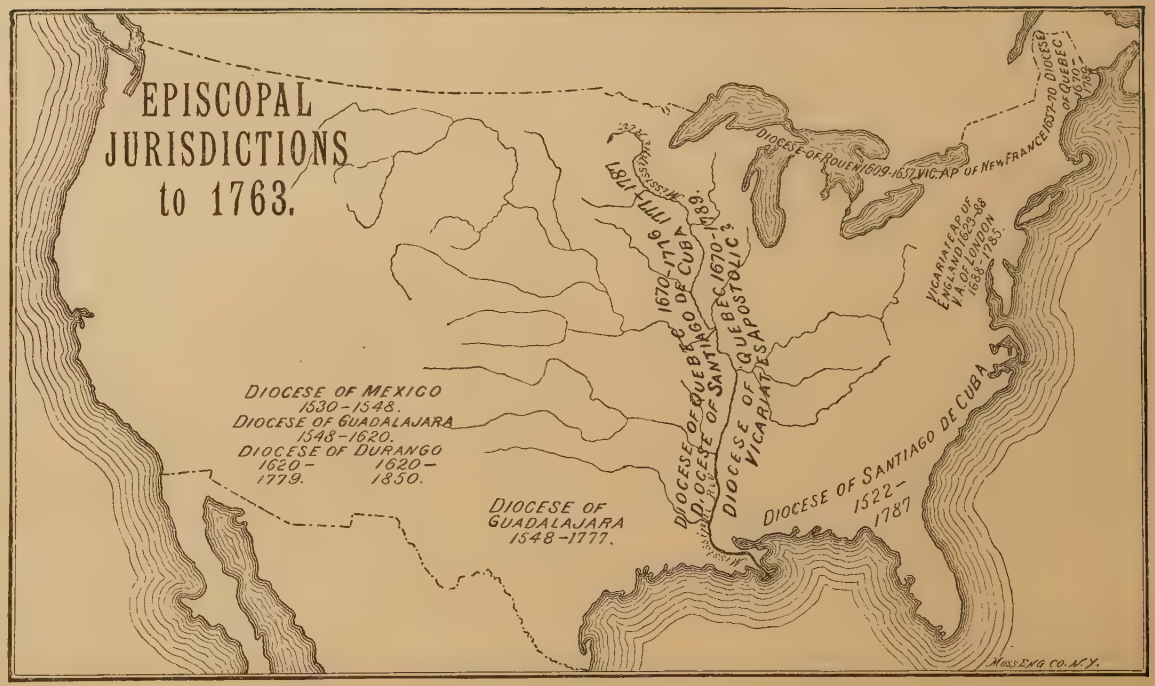
France was Catholic, but the Church and the missions in the territory she controlled in America were not supported by any governmental plan. The zeal and piety of individuals contributed far more than the monarch to maintain and carry on the work, and the colonists shared the feeling of the mother country and willingly paid their tithes, and aided to support the religious bodies which had been active agents in bringing in settlers and clearing the land for cultivation.

In the English colonies, except for two brief seasons, Catholics were oppressed by laws copied from the appalling penal code of England. The Church was proscribed, her worship forbidden, her adherents visited with every form of degradation, insult, and extortion.

Thus strangely different were the circumstances under which the Church grew in Florida, in Michigan, in Maryland. Yet in the designs of God it was that which seemed least favored that was to develop most wonderfully, till the episcopate starting from a threefold source and blending into the hierarchy of the United States with the faithful sprung from those lands, and from Ireland, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, Italy, Portugal, and from the native tribes, presents at the close of the nineteenth century a

spectacle full of consolation and hope, exercising the highest moral influence, stimulating education, upholding the sanctity of marriages, inculcating charity to the rich, and courageous endurance to the poor, detachment to all.

This is the history which it is the purpose of this work to trace. In the volume here presented the narrative is brought down to that eventful year, 1763, when England became undisputed mistress of all the territory east of the Mississippi, and when to mere human eyes the cause of the Catholic Church throughout the land seemed hopeless.


EPISCOPAL
JURISDICTIONS
to 1763.
DIOCESE OF MEXICO
1530-1548.
DIOCESE OF GUADALAJARA
1548-1620.
DIOCESE OF DURANGO
1620-1779.
1620-1850.
DIOCESE OF
GUADALAJARA
1548-1777.
DIOCESE OF QUEBEC
1670-1771
DIOCESE OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA
1689
DIOCESE OF QUEBEC
1670-1784
VICARIATE APOSTOLIC
DIOCESE OF ROUEN 1609-1657 VIC. AP. OF NEW FRANCE 1657-70 DIOCESE OF QUEBEC 1670-1784
VICARIATE AP. OF ENGLAND 1623-88
V. OF LONDON 1688-1783.
DIOCESE OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA
1522-
1787
MISS. ENG. CO. N.Y.

# BOOK I.

## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### EARLY PROJECTS OF SETTLEMENT.

The revolt of Henry VIII. against the authority of the Holy See and his suppression of the religious houses had greatly impaired the spirit of faith in the people of England, but still the new ideas, set up by Luther and Calvin on the Continent, found few proselytes, even after his death; the establishment of a Calvinistic church by those who assumed the regency for Edward VI. failed to win the mass of the English people from the faith of their forefathers. It was restored for a brief term by Mary, but Elizabeth, on her accession, revived the acts of the reigns of Henry and Edward. The mass was abolished, an act of supremacy passed, the images of our Lord and His Saints were ordered to be broken or burned. The churches were filled with a new set of clergy who were to perform a new religious service.

The Catholics could not join in this. The mass was and is the only divine worship to be offered by a duly ordained priest. With the churches built by their ancestors diverted to unhallowed rites, they had no alternative but to hear mass in secret said by some lawful priest. Protestantism is essentially intolerant. Nowhere, on obtaining power, did it permit the Catholic portion of a nation to enjoy the exercise of religion, even in private. Elizabeth began a series of laws

to crush the Catholics, to deprive them of all opportunity of enjoying the services of religion and forcing them to enter the Church her Parliament had set up. The penal laws of this woman, one of the most savagely bloody in the annals of history, though enforced during her long reign, failed to secure even half the population of England to the Church of which she was the head.

To defend the jurisdiction of the Pope was punished by a heavy fine; the universities, the professions, the public offices were closed to all who would not take an oath of supremacy; a second offence or a refusal of the oath was punishable with death.[1] Priests who adhered faithfully to God were kept hidden, for the consolation of the faithful, but as their ranks thinned by death, some means was needed to maintain a succession of clergymen. A seminary was established at Douay for the education of priests. To prevent the success of this plan Elizabeth, by a new series of laws, made it high treason to declare her a heretic, to bring from Rome any instrument whatever emanating from the Pope, to use any such document, to give or receive absolution. Perpetual imprisonment was the penalty for possessing an Agnus Dei, a rosary, cross or picture blessed by the Pope or any of his missionaries. Any Catholic who fled from England to evade the laws was required to return within six months, under penalty of confiscation of all property belonging to him.[2] These laws were soon enforced. In 1577 Roland Jenks, an Oxford bookseller, for having Catholic books, was sentenced to be nailed to the pillory, his sentence being attended by the sudden death of many of the officials. Then the Rev. Cuthbert Maine, the protomartyr of Douay College, was convicted of high treason, in having a bull of the Pope granting a jubilee

[1] 5 Eliz., c. 1.

[2] 13 Eliz., c. 1, 2, 3.

and in having brought an Agnus Dei into the kingdom. For this he was hanged on the 29th of November, 1577. Then the gallows was kept busy with its bloody work. Two other priests were hanged the next year, four in 1581, eleven in 1582.

While the government thus thought to keep priests from ministering to the English Catholics by fear of death, the laity were oppressed with fines and imprisonment for not attending Protestant worship, for hearing mass, for keeping Catholic books or objects of devotion.

Flight to the Continent had been made a crime, and was always a pretext for a charge of treason. Under these circumstances it occurred to leading men among the Catholic body, who had still friends at court, to seek a refuge for their oppressed countrymen out of England, but yet within her Majesty's dominions.

The foremost in this project was Sir George Peckham, of Dinand, in Buckinghamshire; but, of course, care and prudence were required. The application made by Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Queen Elizabeth for a patent to authorize him to explore and colonize the northern parts of America would seem to have been inspired by Sir George. As early as March 22, 1574, we find them both with Mr. Carlile, Sir Richard Greenville and others petitioning her to allow of an enterprise for discovery of sundry rich and unknown lands, "fatefully reserved for England and for the honor of your Majestie."[1] Although Sir George's name does not appear in the patent actually issued June 11, 1578, it seems framed to meet the case of the Catholics, and an interest under it was very soon transferred to Sir George Peckham and a fellow Catholic, Sir Thomas Gerard. By its terms Sir Humphrey

[1] Domest. Corresp. Elizabeth, vol. 95, No. 65, Col. p. 475.

Gilbert and his assigns are authorized from time to time to go and remain, to do so freely, "the statutes or actes of parliament made against fugitives, or against such as shall depart, remaine or continue out of our realm of England without license, or any other acte, statute, lawe or matter whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding." He was authorized to take any of the Queen's subjects "as shall willingly accompany him," "so that none of the same persons, nor any of them be such as hereafter shall be specially restrained by us, our heires and successors." The only restriction on his power to make laws was that they should not "be against the true Christian faith, or religion now professed in the Church of England," or such as would withdraw men from their allegiance to the crown.[1]

This would authorize Catholics to go and remain there under the protection of the laws that might be established, so long as no law was passed against the Church of England. Haies, one of the historians of Gilbert's undertaking, mentions the discouragement that befel him, and says: "In furtherance of his determination, amongst others Sir George Peckham, knight, showed himself very zealous to the action, greatly aided him, both by his advice and in the charge. Other gentlemen to their ability joined unto him, resolving to adventure their substance and lives in the same cause."

Two years were spent in gathering artisans and supplies for the projected settlement, but the Catholic projectors felt the necessity of some definite sanction of their undertaking. They applied openly and without disguise as the following petition shows:

"Articles of peticion to the righte Honnorable Sr Frauncis Wallsinghame Knighte Principall Secretairie unto the

[1] Hakluyt, i., p. 677; iii., 174. Hazard's Collection, i., pp. 24–28.

Quens Mat^ie^ by S^r^ Thomas Gerrarde and S^r^ George Peckeham Knightes as followeth viz

"That where Sr Humferie Gylberte Knighte hath granted and assigned to the saide S^r^ Thomas and S^r^ George authoritie by virtue of the Quens Mat^ie^ lres Patents to discover and pocesse &c certain heathen Lands &c

"Their humble peticion is—

"Firste that it wolde please her Mat^ie^ that all souche parsons whose names shall be sett downe in a booke Indented made for that purpose th'one pte remayninge with some one of her Mat^ie^ pryvie Councell th'other w^th^ the said S^r^ Thomas and S^r^ George maye have lycens to travell into those counteris at the nexte viaige for conqueste w^th^ all manne^r^ of necessarie provission for themselves and their families their to remaine or retorne backe to Englande at their will and pleasure when and as often as nede shall require.

"Item the recusantes of abillitie that will travell as aforesaide maie have libertie uppon discharge of the penallties dewe to her Mat^ie^ in that behallffe to prepare themselves for the said voiage.

"Item that other recusantes not havinge to satisfie the saide penaltie maie not w^th^standinge have lyke libertie to provide as aforesaide and to stand charged for the paiement of the saide penallties untill suche tyme as God shall make them able to paie the same.

"Item that none under color of the saide Lycence shall departe owte of this realme unto any other foren Christian Realme.

"Item that they nor anye of them shall doo anye acte tending to the breache of the leage betwene her Mat^ie^ and anye other Prince in amytie w^th^ her highnes neither to the prejudice of her Mat^ie^ or this Realme.

"Item that the xth pson wch they shall carrie wth them

shalbe souche as have not any certainetie whereuppon to lyve or maintaine themselves in Englande." [1]

That Queen Elizabeth consented may be inferred from the fact of Peckham's continued interest; but her policy required silence, and a government detective or spy discovered the real nature of the voyage, and in a report made known the connection of Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerard with the intended expedition.

"I have heard it said among the Papists," writes this spy, "that they hope it will prove the best journey for England that was made this forty years." "I do not hear of any further cause of the departure of Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerard than that every Papist doth like very well thereof, and do most earnestly pray their good success." [2]

The place of the intended settlement was Norumbega, a district described in the then recently published Cosmographie of Thevet, a Franciscan priest who claims to have visited it. This province is generally regarded as being the present State of Maine.[3]

The fleet that finally sailed from England, June 11, 1583, consisted of the Delight or George, of 120 tons; the bark Raleigh, of 200 tons; the Golden Hind and Swallow, each of 40 tons, and the Squirrel, of 10 tons, carrying in all 260 persons. Sighting land on the 30th of July, they entered the harbor of St. John, Newfoundland, where Sir Hum-

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[1] Public Record Office Copy. State Papers. Domestic. Eliz. 1580, (1583.) Vol. 146. No. 40.

[2] Letter from P. H. W. (There is reason to believe his real name was Tichbourne alias Benjamin Beard) dated April 19, 1582. Vol. 153, No. 14. I am indebted for the reference to J. H. Pollen, S. J.

[3] Prof. Horsford in a recent tract claims Massachusetts as Norumbega.

phrey took possession in the name of the queen. He then issued some laws. "The first for religion, which in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England."[1]

This while ostensibly setting up the Established Church so as to avoid all cavil, really allowed the Catholic service in private. Gilbert wrote from this port to Sir George Peckham,[2] from which it is evident that the Catholic knight did not accompany the expedition, and we are left entirely in the dark as to the Catholics who really came out.

Sailing thence to select a place for settlement in Norumbega, Gilbert passed Cape Race. Soon after, his best vessel, loaded with all the supplies for his colonists, was lost, only a few who clung to the wreck surviving, when it was driven by the tides on the coast of Newfoundland.

Thoroughly discouraged, Gilbert abandoned the projected settlement, and attempted to reach Europe, sailing himself in the frailest of his fleet. In a storm that would have tried stauncher ships, his voice was heard, from time to time, calling to the vessel near him: "We are as neere heaven by sea as by land." Then the voice was silent; the wail of the waves alone was heard. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with his hopes and his projects, had disappeared, meeting his fate with a courage the world has never ceased to admire.[3]

The other vessels reached England, and the survivors of the Delight, taken to Spain and saved by the kindly captain who rescued them, also regained their native land.[4]

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[1] Haies, "A Report of the Voyage," etc. Hakluyt, iii., p. 151. "First, that Religion publiquely exercised should be such and none other, then is vsed in the Church of England." "A True Report," etc., Ib., p. 166.

[2] See letter in Purchas, iii., p. 808; Hazard's Collection, i., p. 32.

[3] Haies in Hakluyt, i., pp. 677–9; iii., p. 159.

[4] A Relation of Richard Clarke. Hakluyt, iii., p. 163.

Sir George Peckham was not dismayed by this unfortunate result of the attempt. He is the first English Catholic whose writings call for our notice, so far as they regard the exploration, colonization, and Christianizing of this continent. His little work, "A true Report of the late Discoveries and possession taken in the right of the Crowne of England of the Newfound Lands by that valiant and worthy gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Knight," is preserved to us in Hakluyt, and breathes a truly Christian spirit. That he hoped to organize a new expedition is evident. "Now where I doe understand that Sir Humfrey Gilbert, his adherents, associates and friends, doe meane with a conuenient supply (with as much speed as may be) to maintaine, pursue and follow this intended voyage, already in part performed, and (by the assistance of Almighty God) to plant themselves and their people in the continent of the hither part of America, between the degrees of 30 and 60 of septentrionall latitude," he writes; then he proceeds to expatiate on the benefit England would derive from colonies, and the necessity of endeavoring to rescue the Indians from their ignorance and idolatry.

But if Sir George Peckham was sanguine, the Catholics in England were apparently in general opposed to any scheme of colonization. Speaking of a later project the famous Jesuit Father Persons wrote: "The Hereticks also would laughe and exprobrate the same unto them, as they did when Sr. George Peckhame and Sr. Thomas Gerrarde about xx years gone should have made the same viage to Nerembrage by the Queen and Councells consente, with some evacuations of Papists, as then they called them, which attempte became presently then most odious to the Catholicke party." [1]

[1] Persons, "My iudgement about transfering Englishe Catholiques to the northern partes of America." 1605.

During Weymouth's absence the plan of Winslade had been submitted to the famous Jesuit Father Robert Persons, one of the ablest men of his time. His decision, entitled "My iudgement about transferring Englishe Catholiques to the northern parts of America for inhabiting those partes and converting those barbarous people to Christianitie," was so adverse that it apparently led Lord Arundell to abandon the project.

The reasons alleged by Father Persons were that the king and his council would never favor the plan, as it made them out persecutors, and without the consent of government men could not sell estates, and leave the kingdom. The wealthy Catholics would sooner risk losing part of their property by fines in England than venture it all on such an enterprise, and the poor could not go without the rich. In the next place "it would be verie ill taken by the Catholicks generally, as a matter sounding to their discredite and contempte, to have as it were theire exportatione to Barbarouse people treated with Princes in theire name without theire knowledge or consente." He also feared that the diminishing of the number of Catholics in England might lead to laws to prevent Catholics from leaving the country. In the next place, the plan proposed assembling 1,000 in some part of the continent from which they were to sail. Persons objected that they could not be maintained while waiting the assemblage of the whole, and no foreign state would permit it. Spain, always jealous of European colonization, would surely obstruct their project not only in Spain, but in Flanders and elsewhere.

"Finally what theire successe would be amongst those wilde people, wilde beastes, unexperienced ayre, unprovided lande God only knoweth, yet as I sayd, the intentione of convertinge those people liketh me so well and in so high a de-

gree as for that onely I would desire myself to goe in the iorney shutting my eyes to all other difficulties if it were possible to obtayne it."

The plan embraced, therefore, not only a settlement as a refuge for the oppressed Catholics of England, but a system of missions for converting the Indians. How strange it is, that a mission settlement for converting the Indians on that very coast of Norumbega, founded by one of his fellow-members of the Society of Jesus, should be broken up by Persons' fellow-countrymen less than ten years after he wrote.[1]

Such was the second project of Catholic colonization in our present territory. It failed, but strangely enough, the plan proposed by Winslade was carried out by the English Separatists, who gathered in Holland, and with scanty resources, and apparently a want of all prudence sailed in winter to land on the bleak New England coast, not to fail in their projected settlement, but to open the way for others who filled the land, and established enduring institutions.

The next to take up the project of Catholic colonization was a convert, one who had held high and important offices in the English government, was thoroughly conversant with its spirit and ways, and who, as a member of the Virginia Company, must have been fully conversant with all that had been done to create colonies in America.

Sir George Calvert, descended from a noble Flemish family, was born at Kipling, in Yorkshire, in 1582. He took his degrees at Oxford as bachelor and master of arts, and showed ability as a poet. After making a tour of Europe, he obtained an appointment in Ireland, and was promoted to other offices, being often employed on public affairs at home

[1] Father Biard's mission settlement of St. Sauveur on Mont Desert Island.

and abroad, where a clear head, prompt action, and honest purpose were required. Sir Robert Cecil, the trusted minister of Elizabeth, made the young man his chief clerk, and when he himself became lord high treasurer named Calvert clerk of the Privy Council. Knighted in 1617, he became one of the secretaries of state the next year. Favors flowed upon him, among others a large grant of land in Ireland. At a very early period he became interested in American colonization. In 1609 he was one of the Virginia Company of Planters, and fifteen years later one of the provincial council in England for the government of that province. In 1620, too, he purchased the southeast peninsula of Newfoundland, and sent out Captain Edward Wynne with a small colony, who formed a settlement at Ferryland.

Meanwhile, this public man, brought up amid the wily and unprincipled statesmen of the courts of Elizabeth and James, able but faithless, grasping and insincere, to whom religion was but a tool for controlling the people, began to study religious affairs seriously. The Puritans and Separatists and Presbyterians were working among the lower and more ignorant classes, building up a large body of dissenters; the Church of England was inert, many of the abler and purer men seeking to recover what they had lost at the reformation, rather than reject more.

Calvert had not been indifferent to the salvation of his own soul, amid all the engrossing cares of office, and the allurements of the court. He felt the importance of religion and gave it his serious thought and inquiry. In the Puritan school he saw only a menace to all government civil and ecclesiastical. In the Anglican Church only a feeble effort to retrieve a wrong step. To his decisive mind the only course for any man was to return to the ancient Church. This became clearer and clearer to his mind, and he prepared to ar-

range his affairs to meet the consequences attendant on a profession of a faith proscribed by the laws of the state. In 1624 he relinquished his seat in Parliament, and was received into the Church. He then announced his change to the king and tendered his resignation as secretary of state. King James retained him as a member of the Privy Council; he also regranted to him the estates in Ireland, exempting him from obligations which he now as a Catholic could not fulfil, and to reward his long and faithful service, created him Baron of Baltimore in the kingdom of Ireland.

Evidently in anticipation of the return to the Church of his ancestors Calvert had on the 7th of April, 1623, obtained a charter for the province of Avalon in Newfoundland, making him a lord proprietor where he was as yet only a landholder.

His view was to lead out a colony and make it his residence. That it was his design to make it a refuge for oppressed Catholics cannot be doubted. He was already in intimate relations with Sir Thomas Arundell, who had been connected with a previous scheme of the kind, and the union of the two families was soon cemented by a marriage.

The charter of Avalon made him "true and absolute Lord and proprietary of the region" granted, which was erected into a province, with full power to make necessary laws, appoint officers, enjoy the patronage and advowson of all churches. Full authority was given to all the king's subjects to proceed to the province and settle there, notwithstanding any law to the contrary. The settlers were to be exempt from all taxation imposed by the king or his successors.

It was provided that the laws should not be repugnant or contrary to those of England, and a special clause "Provided allways that no interpretation bee admitted thereof (of the charter) whereby God's holy and truly Christian religion or

allegiance due unto us, our heires and successors may in any thing suffer any prejudice or diminution."[1] To give a charter directly favoring or protecting the Catholic religion was what the king could not do. But the Avalon charter enabled Catholics to emigrate to that province without hindrance, and enabled Calvert to make such laws as he pleased, and reserved no power to require him to enforce the English penal laws against Catholics. Thus under the charter Catholics could hold lands, have their own churches and priests. It was unnecessary for Lord Baltimore to pass any special law permitting them to do so.

Embarking in an armed vessel of three hundred tons, in 1627, he reached Ferryland about the 23d of July, with colonists and supplies. With him went two seminary priests, the Rev. Messrs. Longvill and Anthony Smith. After a short stay in his province he returned, the Rev. Mr. Longvill accompanying him. A chapel had been set up, and mass was regularly offered, the Rev. Mr. Smith being joined next year by a priest named Hacket, when Lord Baltimore came over with most of his family to make his home in Newfoundland. The colonists were not all Catholics, however; and Lord Baltimore showed his sense of the equal religious rights of all by giving the Protestant colonists a place for worship and a clergyman. This minister, a Rev. Mr. Stourton, was not content with full liberty; he returned to England, and filed an information against Lord Baltimore for permitting mass to be said. His intolerance was that of his time and country. Lord Baltimore, in practically placing both religions on an equal footing, making both tacitly sanctioned, giving religious freedom to all, rose pre-eminently

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[1] The Charter is given at length in Scharf, "History of Maryland," i., pp. 33–40.

above his time. He nobly endeavored in Avalon to enable each class of settlers to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience, and it was brought up against him as a crime. Taught by this rude experience, we shall see that in his next experiment, he left each class to provide ministers of religion for themselves, or neglect to do so, as they preferred.

Lord Baltimore found the climate very severe, and was soon discouraged by the depredations of the French, with whom he had some sharp fighting, gaining, however, the victory.

Lady Baltimore, sailing down to Virginia to obtain supplies, was charmed with the beauty of Chesapeake Bay, and apparently urged her husband to cast his fortunes there rather than on the bleak shore of Newfoundland. Lord Baltimore, who was a member of the Council of Virginia, visited that province in October, 1629, with a view of removing his settlement thither. The acting governor, John Pott, and other officials, including Clayborne, at once demanded that he should take the oath of supremacy.[1] In this they assumed powers not given to the officials in Virginia, such powers having been limited to the treasurer and council in England.[2]

This manifestation of hostility and bigotry was unexpected

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[1] Sainsbury, "Calendar of State Papers," i., p. 104. In justifying their course, Potts and his associates boasted "that no Papists have been suffered to settle their abode amongst us." Neill, "Founders of Maryland," p. 45. In fact, Virginia broke up a French Catholic settlement in Maine, and at a later day had prevented Irish Catholics from landing.

[2] No such power is given in the first charter, 4 James, i. The second, 7 James, i., empowers the treasurer, and any three of the council, to tender the oath to those going to Virginia; and the third gives a similar power, but there is not a word empowering subordinate officials in the colony to tender the oath to a member of the council.

by Lord Baltimore. Before leaving Newfoundland, he had written on the 19th of August, 1629, to King Charles I., soliciting the grant of a precinct of land in Virginia to which he wished to remove with forty persons, and there enjoy the same privileges that had been granted to him at Avalon.[1] He evidently aimed at employing his means and ability to build up Virginia in which he had so long been interested.

The conduct of the Virginia officials showed Lord Baltimore clearly, however, that Catholics could not live in peace in that colony; and that to secure them a refuge he must obtain a charter for a new province. Leaving his family in Virginia, he sailed to England to employ his influence in obtaining a new grant. In February, 1630, Lord Baltimore, with Sir Thomas Arundell of Wardour, applied for a grant of land, south of the James River, "to be peopled and planted by them,"[2] the bravest Englishman of his time again renewing his attempt at colonization within our limits.

Clayborne, who had been one of those who prevented Lord Baltimore from settling in Virginia, prompted, as their action shows, by hostility to his religion, was now secretary of that province. When the king, at the petition of Lords Baltimore and Arundell, signed a charter for territory south of Virginia, in February, 1631, Clayborne and other representatives of that colony who were then in England, were appalled at the result. To their prejudiced minds it was dangerous for Virginia to have Catholic subjects, but that danger was little compared to having a colony controlled by Catholics at their very border. The charter just granted was, on their vehement remonstrance, revoked. Baron Arun-

[1] Colonial Papers, v. 27. Kirke, "Conquest of Canada," i., p. 158. Scharf, "Maryland," i., p. 44.

[2] Sainsbury, "Calendar of State Papers." Johnson, "Foundation of Maryland," p. 18.

dell died, but Lord Baltimore, persisting in his design, solicited, in lieu of the territory south of Virginia, a district to the northward. Virginia had gained nothing, and further opposition on her part was treated as vexatious.[1]

Charles I. ordered a patent to be issued to Lord Baltimore, granting to him the territory north of the Potomac to the fortieth degree, with the portion of the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, lying opposite, and extending to the ocean. This province the king named Terra Mariæ, or Maryland, in honor of his queen, Henriette Marie, daughter of Henri IV., and doubtless, too, in memory of the old Spanish name of the Chesapeake, retained on many charts, "Baia de Santa Maria."

The charter for Maryland, in which the long experience and political wisdom of Lord Baltimore are manifest, has generally been regarded as one of his best titles to the respect of posterity. Sir George Calvert "was a man of sagacity and an observing statesman. He had beheld the arbitrary administration of the colonies, and against any danger of future oppression, he provided the strongest defence which the promise of a monarch could afford." "The charter secured to the emigrants themselves an independent share in the legislation of the province, of which the statutes were to be established with the advice and approbation of the majority of the freemen or their deputies. Representative government was indissolubly connected with the fundamental charter." The king even renounced for himself and his successors the right to lay any tax or impost on the people of Maryland.

"Calvert deserves," says Bancroft, "to be ranked among

[1] Ayscough MSS. in British Museum, cited by Scharf, Hist. Maryland, i., p. 50.

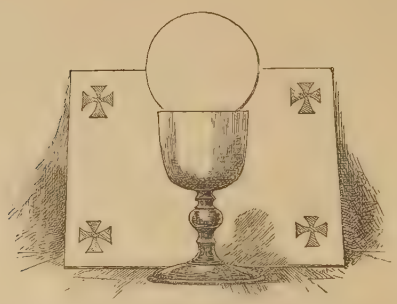
the most wise and benevolent lawgivers of all ages. He was the first in the history of the Christian world to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice and not by the exercise of power; to plan the establishment of popular institutions with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience; to advance the career of civilization by recognizing the rightful equality of all Christian sects. The asylum of Catholics was the spot where, in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers, which, as yet, had hardly been explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary, adopted religious freedom as the basis of the state."

Before the charter passed the Great Seal of England, Lord Baltimore died; but his son obtained the promised grant under the same liberal conditions and proceeded at once to carry out his father's plans, chief among which was "to convert, not extirpate the natives, and to send the sober, not the lewd, as settlers, looking not to present profit, but future expectation." [1]

[1] Some recent writers, notably S. F. Streeter and E. D. Neill, have endeavored to detract from the first Lord Baltimore's claim to our respect as an exponent of religious liberty. The older writers uniformly recognized it. Gen. B. T. Johnson, reviewing the whole question, says: "Calvert adopted the principle of religious liberty as covered by, and included in, the guarantees of the Great Charter, not that there could be liberty of conscience without security of personal property, but that there could be no security of personal property without liberty of conscience." "Foundation of Maryland," p. 12. Scharf, "History of Maryland," i., p. 52, says: "Calumny has not shrunk from attacking his honored name. Detraction has been busy, and as the facts could not be denied, Calvert's motives have been assailed, but empty assertion, conjecture, surmises, however ingeniously malevolent, have happily exercised very little influence over the minds of intelligent and candid men." See the question of the credit to be given to the charter and to Lord Baltimore discussed in "American Catholic Quarterly," x., p. 658. Calvert's giving equality to Catholic and Protestant worship in Avalon is the practical proof of his motive. That no charters but his allowed toleration or colonial legislation, shows that the ideas did not emanate from the crown.

A Catholic nobleman, at a time when his faith was proscribed in England, and its ministers constantly butchered by law,[1] was thus made proprietary of a colony in America, where the colonists were to make their own laws; where no religion was established, where the laws required no royal assent. It was a colony where Catholicity might be planted and flourish.

[1] Within twenty years ten Catholic priests and several laymen had been hanged, drawn, and quartered in England for their religion, one of them as recently as 1628.



ANCIENT PEWTER CHALICE AND PATEN, OF THE EARLY DAYS OF MARYLAND, WITH ALTAR STONE PRESERVED AT WOODSTOCK COLLEGE.

## CHAPTER II.

### CATHOLICITY PLANTED IN MARYLAND. 1634–1646.

THE project of a home beyond the Atlantic for the persecuted Catholics of England was at last on the point of being successfully carried out. The attempts of Peckham and Gerard, of Winslade, of Lord Baltimore at Avalon, all show the same object, and leave no room for doubt that Calvert's design in founding Maryland was to give his fellow-believers a place of refuge. The object was, of course, not distinctly avowed. The temper of the times required great care and caution in all official documents, as well as in the management of the new province.

Cecil, Lord Baltimore, after receiving his charter for Maryland, in June, 1632, prepared to carry out his father's plans. Terms of settlement were issued to attract colonists, and a body of emigrants was soon collected to begin the foundation of the new province. The leading gentlemen who were induced to take part in the project were Catholics; those whom they took out to till the soil, or ply various trades, were not all or, indeed, mainly Catholics, but they could not have been very strongly Protestant to embark in a venture so absolutely under Catholic control. At Avalon Sir George Calvert, anxious for the religious life of his colonists, had taken over both Catholic and Protestant clergymen, and was ill-repaid for his liberal conduct. To avoid a similar ground of reproach, Baron Cecil left each part of his colonists free to take their own clergymen. It is a significant fact that the

Protestant portion were so indifferent that they neither took over any minister of religion, nor for several years after Maryland settlements began, made any attempt to procure one. On behalf of the Catholic settlers, Lord Baltimore applied to Father Richard Blount, at that time provincial of the Jesuits in England, and wrote to the General of the Society, at Rome, to excite their zeal in behalf of the English Catholics who were about to proceed to Maryland. He could offer the clergy no support. "The Baron himself is unable to find support for the Fathers, nor can they expect sustenance from heretics hostile to the faith, nor from Catholics for the most part poor, nor from the savages who live after the manner of wild beasts."

The prospect was not encouraging, and the proximity of the colonies of Virginia and New England, both hostile in feeling to Catholicity, made the position of a Catholic missionary one of no little danger. The Jesuits did not shrink from a mission field where they were to look for no support from the proprietary or their flock, and were to live amid dangers. It was decided that two Fathers were to go as gentlemen adventurers, taking artisans with them, and acquiring lands like others, from which they were to draw their support. This required means, and we are not told by whom they were furnished, but circumstances strongly indicate that Father Thomas Copley, of an old English family, but born in Spain, supplied the means by which the first missionaries were sent out and maintained.[1] The Maryland pilgrims under Leonard Calvert, brother of the lord proprietary,

[1] Memorial of Father Henry More, Vice-Provincial. Foley, "Records of the English Province," iii., pp. 363–4. Thomas Copley, known on the mission as Father Philip Fisher, took up lands, claiming that Fathers White, Altham, and their companions had been sent over by him. Kilty, Landholder's Assistant, pp. 66–8.

consisted of his brother George, some twenty other gentlemen, and two hundred laboring men, well provided. To convey these to the land of Mary, Lord Baltimore had his own pinnace, the Dove, of fifty tons, commanded by Robert Winter, and the Ark, a chartered vessel of 350 tons burthen, Richard Lowe being captain. Leonard Calvert was appointed governor, Jerome Hawley and Thomas Cornwaleys being joined in the commission. Among the gentlemen who came forward to take part in the good work was Richard Gerard, son of the baronet Sir Thomas, one of the first, as we have seen, to propose Catholic colonization in America, and active with Peckham in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition.

Lord Baltimore met with many vexations and delays. He obtained from the Lords of the Admiralty a warrant exempting his men from impressment; but as by his very charter the object of his colony was religious, the proprietary being praised for his pious zeal and desire to propagate the Christian faith, every engine was employed to defeat the expedition. On hostile representations, the attorney-general at last made an information in the Star Chamber that Lord Baltimore's ships had departed without proper papers from the custom-house, and in contempt of all authority. It was, moreover, alleged that the emigrants had abused the king's officers and refused to take the oath of allegiance. On these malicious charges ships were sent in pursuit of the Maryland vessels, and the Ark and Dove were brought back to London. The charges were soon disproved, but Lord Baltimore had been put to great expense, and his expedition jeoparded. His enemies, however, could not force him to abandon his undertaking.[1]

The Ark and Dove, when released, bore away again, and putting in at Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, took aboard other

[1] Lord Baltimore to the Earl of Strafford. Strafford's Letters.

members of the expedition. From this period we have as our guide the narrative of the voyage, written, in all probability, by Father Andrew White. This learned man, who after serving on the English mission as a seminary priest, had fallen into the hands of the enemies of the true faith and spent years in prison, had been banished from England in 1606. On the Continent he entered the Society of Jesus and filled professors' chairs in several colleges.[1] He had been selected by the provincial as chief missioner to Maryland, and was accompanied by Father John Altham, or Gravenor, and by Thomas Gervase, a lay brother.[2]

They sailed from Cowes on the 22d of November, 1633, the feast of Saint Cecilia. In the stormy weather which they soon encountered, the Dove was driven from her consort, and the two priests in the Ark expecting for their party the fate which seemed to have overtaken her, united all the Catholics in prayers and devotions to our Lord, to the Blessed Virgin, Saint Ignatius, and the Angel Guardians of Maryland, consecrating that province as a new votive offering to Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception. Sweeping around by Barbadoes, by Montserrat, whence the fugitive Irish Catholics had

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[1] Challoner, "Missionary Priests" (Phil. edn.), ii., p. 14. Foley, "Records of the English Province," iii., pp. 334–9. The earliest printed accounts of Father White's Life are in More, "Historia Anglo Bavarica," and in Tanner, "Societas Jesu," p. 803. Prague, 1694.

[2] The "Relatio Itineris" mentions no other priest except F. Altham, and White would, of course, not mention himself by name. Grants of lands were taken up only for White and Altham. Kilty's Land-Holder's Assistant, p. 68. We must regard the mention of other priests at the time as erroneous. To some it may require explanation why Altham and other early missionaries had more than one name. This was a result of the penal laws in England, to save their relatives and those who harbored them from annoyance and danger. Mr. Henry Foley has, at infinite trouble, collected the names which Fathers of the Society were compelled to assume. After his patient research I make no mere conjecture in any case.

not yet been driven by English hate, by Nevis and other West India Islands, the two vessels, which had again joined company, glided peacefully at last between the capes into the bay which Spanish navigators named in honor of the Mother of God, but which was to bear its Indian name of Chesapeake.

The avowed hostility of Virginia made Leonard Calvert anxious to learn what reception awaited him. He anchored for a time at Point Comfort and forwarded to the governor letters he bore from the king and the authorities in England.

Encouraged by a courteous welcome, Calvert then proceeded up the bay to the territory embraced within the charter of Maryland. The Catholic character of the colony is at once apparent. For each natural landmark a title is drawn from the calendar of the Church. The Potomac is consecrated to St. Gregory; Smith's Point and Point Lookout become Cape St. Gregory and Cape St. Michael. When the Pilgrims of Maryland reached the Heron Islands they named them after St. Clement, St. Catharine, and St. Cecilia, whose festivals recalled the early days of their voyage. Near the island named St. Clement they came to anchor. "On the day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the year 1634," writes the author of the "Relatio Itineris," "we celebrated the first mass on that island; never before had it been offered in that region. After the holy sacrifice, bearing on our shoulders a huge cross, which we had hewn from a tree, we moved in procession to a spot selected, the governor, commissioners and other Catholics," putting their hands first unto it, "and erected it as a trophy to Christ our Saviour; then humbly kneeling, we recited with deep emotion, the Litany of the Holy Cross." [1]

[1] "Relatio Itineris ad Marylandiam," Baltimore, 1874, p. 33. The manuscript of the Relatio with an Indian catechism was found in 1832 in the Archives of the Professed House at Rome, by an American Jesuit,

ST. CLEMENT'S ISLAND, EASTERN END, WHERE THE FIRST MASS WAS SAID IN MARYLAND, MARCH 25, 1634. FROM A DRAWING BY F. B. MAYER.

Catholicity thus planted her cross and her altar in the heart of the English colonies in America, March 25, 1634. The land was consecrated, and then preparations were made to select a spot for the settlement. Leaving Father White at St. Clement's, the governor, with Father Altham, ran up the river in a pinnace, and at Potomac on the southern shore met Archihau, regent of the powerful tribe that held sway over that part of the land. The priest, through an interpreter, made known his desire to instruct the chief in the true faith. Archihau gave every mark of friendly assent. The emperor of Piscataway, who controlled a considerable extent of territory on the Maryland side of the river, was also won over by the Catholic pilgrims, although on their first approach the Piscataways came flocking to the shore to oppose them in arms. Having thus prepossessed the most powerful native rulers of the neighboring Indians to regard the new

Father William McSherry. A translation by N. C. Brooks, LL.D., appeared soon after and was reprinted in Force's Tracts, Vol. IV. The Maryland Historical Society printed the Latin with a translation edited by Rev. E. A. Dalrymple in 1874. A corrected version is given in the Woodstock Letters, I., pp. 12–24; 71–80; 145–155; II., pp. 1–13. It is evidently by Father White. See also, "A Relation of the Successful Beginnings of the Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Mary-land." London, 1634; New York, 1865, p. 9. In this which follows the Relatio closely but prudently "celebrated the first mass" becomes "recited certain prayers."

settlers favorably, Leonard Calvert sailed back to Saint Clement's. Then the pilgrims entered the Saint Mary's, a bold broad stream, emptying into the Potomac about twelve miles from its mouth. For the first settlement of the new province, Leonard Calvert, who had landed, selected a spot a short distance above, about a mile from the eastern shore of the river. Here stood an Indian town, whose inhabitants, harassed by the Susquehannas, had already begun to emigrate to the westward. To observe strict justice with the Indian tribes Calvert purchased from the werowance or king, Yaocomoco thirty miles of territory. The Indians gradually gave up some of their houses to the colonists, agreeing to leave the rest also after they had gathered in their harvest. The colonists, who had according to tradition tarried for a time on the ground now known as St. Inigoes,[1] came up and the Governor took the colors ashore, the gentlemen and the servants under arms, receiving them with a salute of musketry, to which the cannon of the vessels replied. He took possession of the Indian town and named it St. Mary's. One of the oblong oval Indian bark houses or witchotts was assigned to the priests. With the help of their good lay brother, the two Jesuit Fathers soon transformed it into a chapel, the first shrine of Catholicity in Maryland.

The native tribes were conciliated; Sir John Harvey, Governor of Virginia, came as a welcome guest; the new settlement began with Catholic and Protestant dwelling together in harmony, neither attempting to interfere with the religious rights of the other, "and religious liberty obtained a home, its only home in the wide world, at the humble village which bore the name of St. Mary's."[2]

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[1] Foley, "Records of the English Province," iii., p. 322. "Relatio Itineris," p. 36. "A Relation of Maryland, 1635," p. 12.

[2] Bancroft, "History of the United States," i., p. 247.

Thus began the city of St. Mary's, March 27, 1634. "St. Mary's was the home, the chosen home of the disciples of the Roman Church. The fact has been generally received. It is sustained by the traditions of two hundred years, and by volumes of written testimony; by the records of the courts; by the proceedings of the privy council; by the trial of law cases; by the wills and inventories; by the land records and rent-rolls; and by the very names originally given to the towns and hundreds to the creeks and rivulets, to the tracts and manors of the county." [1]

SITE OF THE CITY OF ST. MARY'S, MD., WHERE THE FIRST CATHOLIC CHAPEL WAS ERECTED. FROM A SKETCH BY GEORGE ALFRED TOWNSEND.

The settlers were soon at work. Houses for their use were erected, crops were planted, activity and industry prevailed. St. Mary's chapel was dedicated to the worship of Almighty God, and near it a fort stood, ready to protect the settlers. It was required by the fact that Clayborne, the fanatical enemy of Lord Baltimore and his Catholic projects, who had already settled on Kent Island, was exciting the Indians against the colonists of Maryland.

The little community gave the priests a field too limited for their zeal. The daily mass, the instructions from the

[1] Davis, "Day Star," p. 149.

MAP OF MARYLAND, FROM ONE PUBLISHED BETWEEN 1670 AND 1690.

altar, private conferences with any desiring clearer knowledge of the faith; all these were the ordinary work; but the Indian tribes were to be reached. The Yaocomocos near St. Mary's hunted and fished for the colonists and were constantly in the little town. The missionaries began to study their language, collecting words and endeavoring to understand its structure and forms. They found, however, that each little tribe seemed to have a different dialect or a distinct language; but undeterred by this, they went steadily on, and the results of their investigations are still preserved.[1]

Another priest, with a lay brother, came to share their labors before the close of the year 1635; and the next year four priests were reported as the number assigned to the Maryland mission. Of their early labors no record is preserved, and we learn only that they were laboring diligently to overcome the difficulties presented by the Indian languages.[2]

The two priests last assigned to the mission, and who apparently did not reach Maryland till 1637, were the Rev. Thomas Copley, known on the records of the Society of Jesus as Father Philip Fisher, with Father John Knolles. Father Copley (Fisher) became superior of the mission, and at once took steps to place the affairs of the community on a self-supporting basis. Under the Conditions of Plantation issued by Lord Baltimore, August 8, 1636, every one of the gentlemen adventurers of 1633 was entitled to two thousand acres for every five men brought over, and the same quantity of land for every ten men brought over in the two succeeding years.

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[1] The "Relatio Itineris," as printed, purports to be addressed to the General of the Society, but this address seems to have been added to Father McSherry's transcript by a later hand. See Latin notes, Maryland Hist. Society's edition, p. 101.

[2] Notes for 1635–1636; Ib., p. 54. There are allusions to a Father Hayes, who may have come over in 1635, and returned soon after.

Under these provisions Father Fisher, using his real name of Thomas Copley, entered a claim for Mr. Andrew White, Mr. John Altham, and others to the number of thirty brought over by him in the year 1633; as well as for himself and Mr. John Knolles, and others to the number of nineteen brought over in 1637.[1] The position taken by Lord Baltimore that the Catholic priests who went to Maryland were not to look to him or to the settlers for support, left them no alternative but to maintain themselves, as there was no hope of any one establishing a fund for their use. The lands then taken up were cleared and put under cultivation by the missionaries and for two centuries may be said to have met all the cost of maintaining Catholic worship and its ministers in those portions of Maryland.[2]

Sickness prevailed in the colony, and the missionaries did not escape. Within two months after his arrival Father Knolles, a talented young priest of much hope, sank a vic-

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[1] Kilty, "The Land-Holder's Assistant," Baltimore, 1808, pp. 30, 66, 67, 68. Other lands were claimed by Copley, as assignee of settlers who had returned to England.

Mr. Henry Foley, Records of the English Province, vii., 1146, etc.; and Woodstock Letters, xi., pp. 18–24, xv., pp. 44–7, discussing the subject ably, consider the identity of Thomas Copley and Father Philip Fisher established, and this was the result of my own studies. Both are represented as born at Madrid at the close of the 16th century; each came to Maryland in 1637 (August 8) with Father Knolles; each was carried off, and each died in 1652. Neither recognizes the existence of the other. Copley took up lands for all the Jesuit Fathers, but no lands for Fisher, and Fisher as superior alludes in his account of the mission to no Father Copley. A very interesting sketch of Father Copley by Mrs. K. C. Dorsey is in Woodstock Letters, xiii. p. 250, cf. xiv. p. 345; xv. p. 44.

[2] It has been charged that the Catholic missionaries in adopting the course they did, became farmers and merchants; but the taunt comes with a very ill grace from ministers, whether Episcopalian or Calvinist, whose predecessors in this country lived on money wrung by process of law from many who did not belong to their flock and who rejected their teaching.

tim to the climate, and Brother Gervase, one of the original band of settlers, also died.[1]

The hostility excited by Clayborne prevented the establishment of any mission among the Indian tribes, as the governor deemed it rash for any missionary to take up his residence in an Indian village; but among the settlers they found employment for their zeal, several Protestants being instructed and received into the Church. One of the Fathers visited a neighboring province, Virginia as we may infer, and found two Frenchmen long strangers to the sacraments and their duties, who, struck down by sickness, availed themselves of this providential presence of a priest to make their peace with God. The Fathers found several Catholics in Virginia held for service whose terms they purchased to enable them to go to Maryland and live where they could practice their religion.

We can picture to ourselves the little colony, the only place under the flag of England where Catholicity enjoyed even comparative freedom. A public chapel where mass was regularly said, where sermons were preached on Sundays and holidays, where the children each Sunday learned their catechism, and adults were grounded in the faith by instructions suited to their capacity—undoubtedly the first Sunday-school in the country—where retreats were given to those who wished to perform the spiritual exercises.

After a time Father White took up his residence with Maquacomen, chief or king of Patuxent, a man of great power and influence, who showed every inclination to embrace the faith. His example led several of the tribe to listen to the missionary and they were baptized after being carefully instructed and their perseverance tested; but Ma-

[1] Annual Letter of 1638. "Relatio Itineris," pp. 54–5.

quacomen, though he followed the instructions and seemed convinced, hesitated and procrastinated. He had shown his good-will by bestowing on the mission a tract known as Metapawnien, a spot so fertile that its produce was the main reliance of the Maryland missionaries. Yet with the unstableness so frequent among Indians he soon changed, all design of embracing the faith vanished, and his hostility to the missionaries and to the Maryland settlers became so marked that Leonard Calvert recalled Father White to St. Mary's. The first permanent Indian mission was thus defeated, great as the hopes were that had been based on the influence which the Patuxent chief exercised over the surrounding tribes.[1]

The prevailing influence in Maryland was Catholic; the leading gentlemen who had given their means and personal services to the project, like Captain Thomas Cornwaleys, Cuthbert Fenwick, Thomas Green, were Catholics, but several of those whom they brought over under the conditions of plantation were Protestants. For many years these had no clergymen, but a chapel was soon reared for their use. They were protected in its exclusive use, and interference with their religious views by taunts or opprobrious words was punished.[2]

Care was taken by the lord proprietary to maintain this equality of religious rights. The oath of office taken by the governors from the outset evinces this. "And I do further swear that I will not by myself or any other person, directly or indirectly, trouble, molest, or discountenance any person

[1] "Relatio Itineris," p. 63.

[2] Lt. William Lewis was fined in 1638 for abusing Protestants who were reading aloud a book that offended him. See proceedings analyzed in Scharf, i. pp. 166–7. Dr. Thomas Gerrard was fined in 1642 for taking away the keys and books of the Protestant chapel. Maryland Archives, i, p. 119; Johnson, "Old Maryland Manors," p. 29; Bozman, "History of Maryland," ii. pp. 199–200; Davis, "Day Star," p. 33.

whatsoever, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, and in particular no Roman Catholic, for or in respect of religion, nor his or her free exercise thereof within the said province, . . . nor will I make any difference of persons in conferring offices, rewards or favors, for or in respect to their said religion, but meerly as I shall find them, faithful and well deserving of his said Lordship and to the best of my understanding endowed with morall vertues and abilities . . . and if any other officer or persons whatsoever shall . . . molest or disturb any person . . . professing to believe in Jesus Christ, meerly for or in respect of his or her religion or the free exercise hereof upon notice or complaint thereof made to him, I will apply my power and authority to relieve any person so molested or troubled, whereby he may have right done him." [1]

Lord Baltimore's scheme embraced not only religious but legislative freedom, and his charter provided for a colonial assembly. Maryland begins her history in March, 1634, and in less than three years an assembly of the freemen of the little colony was convened and opened its sessions on the 25–26th of January, 1637. All who had taken up lands were summoned to attend in person. The Catholic priests, summoned like the rest, had no wish to take part as legislators. Through Robert Clerke they asked to be excused from serving.[2] When the Assembly met, John Lewgar, secretary

[1] Chalmers, p. 235; McMahon, "Hist. Maryland," 226. Langford, "Refutation of Babylon's Fall"; "Virginia and Maryland," pp. 22, 23, 26. The terms of the oath are taken from the Parliament Navy Committee 31st Dec., 1652, where they are given in a general way, and not as those of an oath introduced recently. Streeter, "Maryland Two Hundred Years Ago," p. 26, and some subsequent writers endeavored to show that this oath did not date back to 1636; the whole question can be studied in Scharf, i., p. 171.

[2] "Maryland Archives," i., p. 5.

to Lord Baltimore, was the leading spirit. A recently converted Protestant minister, he was little versed in the canons and rules of the Catholic Church. Some of the laws introduced by him excited grave doubts in the minds of Catholic gentlemen in the Assembly, who submitted the matter to the missionaries. To their minds the proposed acts so conflicted with the laws of the Church that no Catholic could conscientiously vote for them. Their opinion gave great umbrage to Leonard Calvert, the governor, and still greater to Lord Baltimore when the affair was reported to him.[1]

The variance of opinion was most unfortunate in its results to the colony, as impairing the harmony which had hitherto prevailed, and threatened to prevent the growth of the Church in its usefulness and the spreading of missions among the Indians. A chapel had by this time been erected at St. Mary's, and a cemetery was duly blessed to receive the remains of those who died in the faith.[2]

Secretary Lewgar, though sincerely a Catholic, and subsequently a priest,[3] was at this time too unacquainted with the canons of the Church to act dispassionately. His letters to Lord Baltimore seem to have excited that nobleman so much that he resolved to force the Jesuit Fathers to abandon the mission. He declared the grant of land by the Patuxent king null and void, and objected to a further

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[1] Laws were introduced regarding marriage and proving wills, then regarded as within the province of ecclesiastical courts, establishing courts, and one curious enactment deprived a woman of lands descending to her unless she married before an age fixed by law. "Maryland Archives," i., p. 15.

[2] "Y^e ordinary burying place in St. Mary's Chapel yard" is alluded to in John Lloyd's will, 1658. Davis, p. 33.

[3] He died at London in 1655, while attending the plague-stricken. As to his writings, see Dodd, iii., p. 264.

acquisition of land by the missionaries. At the same time he took measures to request the Congregation de Propaganda Fide at Rome to establish a mission in his province of Maryland. In carrying out his plan he acted disingenuously, evidently withholding all information as to the actual existence of a mission in his colony, founded by the English province of the Society of Jesus. A more direct and straightforward course would have been to submit the case to the authorities in Rome and solicit such a modification of ordinary rules as the exceptional state of affairs in Maryland seemed to require.

It was apparently to support his application to Rome that the Maryland Assembly, on the 19th of March, 1638 (O. S.), passed an act entitled "An Act for Church Liberties," the first section of which provided that "Holy Church within this province shall have all her rights, liberties and immunities, safe, whole and inviolable in all things." [1]

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[1] "Maryland Archives," i., pp. 35, 40, 82. It was to be in force till the next Assembly and then be made perpetual. That a law of general religious freedom was then passed has been asserted, but no such act can now be found.

"After the Charter was thus granted to Lord Baltimore, who was then a Roman Catholic, his Lordship emitted his proclamation to encourage the settlement of his province, promising therein among other things, liberty of conscience and an equal exercise of religion to every denomination of Christians who would transport themselves and reside in his province, and that he would procure a law to be passed for that purpose afterwards. The first or second Assembly that met after the colonists arrived here, some time in the year 1638, a perpetual law was passed in pursuance of his Lordship's promise, and indeed such a law was easily obtained from those who were the first settlers. This act was confirmed in 1649 and again in 1650." Reply of Upper to Lower House of Assembly in 1758, cited by Scharf, i., p. 154.

"The people who first settled in this province were for the most part Roman Catholics, and that although every other sect was tolerated, a majority of the inhabitants continued Papists till the Revolution." Gov. Sharpe's letter of Dec. 15, 1758, in Maryland State Library.

P. Andreas Vitus, S.J. Angl, in Anglia et Marilandia Americæ Provincia, Apostolicis laboribus clarus. Obyt in Anglia propè octogenarius, Aº 1655.
178.

BAPTISM OF KING CHILOMACON, BY FATHER ANDREW WHITE.
FROM TANNER, "SOCIETAS JESU," 1694

Meanwhile the missionaries were continuing their labors, Father John Brock, who had become Superior of the Mission, residing with a lay brother at the plantation, apparently that known as St. Inigoes; Father Altham, who had become well acquainted with the country, being stationed at Kent Island on the eastern shore, then a great centre of the Indian trade, and Father Philip Fisher at the chapel in St. Mary's, the capital of the colony.

Father White had penetrated to a new field, a hundred and twenty miles from St. Mary's, having, in June, 1639, planted his mission cross at Kittamaquindi, capital of Piscataway, the realm of the Tayac or Chief, Chitomachen or Chilomacon. This was probably at or near the present town of that name, fifteen miles south of the city of Washington. The chief, predisposed by dreams, on which Indians depend so much, received the missionary warmly. He listened to the instructions and, touched by grace, resolved not only to encourage the missionary's labors among his people, but, with his wife and children, to embrace the faith preached to them. He put away his concubines, learned how to pray, and observed the fasts and abstinences of the Church. He openly avowed his renunciation of all his former superstitions and idolatry, and declared that religion was far more to him than any other advantage he could derive from the whites. Visiting St. Mary's, this catechumen was received with every mark of friendship, and when he was sufficiently instructed, and his dispositions deemed certain, he was solemnly baptized at Kittamaquindi, his capital, on the 5th of July, 1640, receiving at the sacred font the name of Charles. His wife, the devoted friend of the mission, received in baptism the name of Mary, and her infant child that of Anne. The king's chief councillor, Mesorcoques, with his son, enjoyed the same blessing. This interesting

ceremony, the administration of the holy sacrament of regeneration to a chief of such influence and his family, took place in a new bark chapel, erected for the occasion. Leonard Calvert, the governor, came with Lewgar, the secretary of the colony, and Father Altham, to show by their presence the importance of the event.

In the afternoon the king and queen were united in matrimony according to Christian usage; then a large holy cross was erected, the Indian chief, the English governor and secretary, with natives and settlers lending their shoulders and hands to bear it to its destined place, the two Jesuit Fathers chanting, as they went, the Litany of our Lady of Loretto, the murmur of the river as it flowed down past the site of the future capital of the country, and the voices of the hoary forests echoing the response.[1]

The two missionaries were soon after prostrated by fever, and they were conveyed to St. Mary's. Father Altham did not rally from its effects; he sank under the disease and died on the 5th of November, 1640. Father White began to mend, and in February, having regained some strength, joined Father Brock, at Piscataway, in order to make the mission a solid one; but he again fell sick, exciting the alarm of Father Brock, who feared that listening only to his zeal he would sink under his age and increasing infirmities, the result doubtless of the years spent in English prisons. Much of the success of the society's labors in Maryland depended upon Father White, inasmuch as he possessed the greatest influence over the minds of the Indians, and spoke their languages with greater fluency and accuracy than any of the

[1] Annual Letter, 1639, in "Relatio Itineris," p. 65, etc.; Foley, "Records," iii., p. 372. Tanner, "Societas Jesu Apostolorum Imitatrix," Prague, 1694, pp. 803-4. The curious picture of the baptism of Chitomachen is reproduced exactly from the now rare work of Tanner.

other missionaries. It was Father Brock, however, who was to be the next victim to the climate. After announcing the faith to the tribe of Anacostans or Snakes, and converting their king, he died before the close of the year.

Father Brock, whose real name was Ferdinand Poulton, belonged to a family which had given many members to the Society of Jesus. He was born in Buckinghamshire about the beginning of the century, and entering the Society in 1622, was sent out as Superior of the mission in 1638 or 1639, being then a professed Father. He was accidentally shot while crossing Saint Mary's River.

A letter written shortly before his death gives interesting details of the labors of the Fathers on the Maryland mission, which we have used in our account. Its closing sentences show how completely he was absorbed in the work.[1] "The mere idea of our Superiors recalling us or not sending others to help us in this glorious work of the conversion of souls, in some sort impugns the Providence of God and his care of his servants, as though he would now less than formerly provide for the nourishment of his laborers. On which account our courage is not diminished, but rather increased and strengthened; since now God will take us into his protection, and will certainly provide for us himself, especially since it has pleased the divine goodness already to receive some fruit of our labors however small. In whatever manner it may seem good to his divine Majesty to dispose of us, may his holy will be done! But as much as in me lies, I would rather, laboring in the conversion of the Indians, expire on the bare ground deprived of all human succor and perishing with hunger, than once think of abandoning this holy work of God

[1] Letter of Father John Brock, Stonyhurst MSS., iv., p. 109; U. S. Catholic Magazine, 1848, p. 534. Foley, "Records," iii., pp. 368, 382; "Relatio Itineris," p. 73.

from the fear of want. May God grant me grace to render him some service and all the rest I leave to divine Providence. The King of Piscataway lately died most piously; but God will for his sake raise up seed for us in his neighbor, the King of Anacostan, who has invited us to come to him, and has decided to become a Christian. Many likewise in other localities desire the same. Hopes of a rich harvest shine forth, unless frustrated by the want of laborers who can speak the language and are in sound health."

This energetic Superior was cut off amid plans approved by the Provincial for establishing new stations, and he had proposed a scheme for commencing a seat of learning for the province of Maryland.[1]

In 1642 Father Philip Fisher, again Superior, continued his labors at Saint Mary's, among the settlers and neighboring Indians. Here the young empress of Piscataway was solemnly baptized, and remained to be educated in Christian and civilized life. Father Andrew White attended Piscataway and the scattered missions. He suffered greatly from a Puritan captain on whose vessel he embarked to shorten his voyages, and he even feared that he might be carried off to New England; but the vessel was frozen in the ice of the Potomac opposite the Indian town of that name to which Father White proceeded over the ice on foot, the inhospitable craft soon after sinking crushed by the ice of the river. The missionary was weather-bound at this point nearly two months, but they were a season of grace to the Indians. "The ruler of the little village with the principal men among the inhabitants was during that time added to the Church,

[1] "The hope of establishing a College which you hold forth, I embrace with pleasure; and shall not delay my sanction to the plan, when it shall have reached maturity." Letter to Father Brock, U. S. Cath. Mag., vii., p. 580.

and received the faith of Christ through baptism. Besides these persons, one was converted along with many of his friends; a third brought his wife, his son, and a friend; and a fourth in like manner came, together with another of no ignoble standing among his people. Strengthened by their example, the people are prepared to receive the faith whenever we shall have leisure to instruct them."[1]

About this time the Fathers seem to have converted also some Virginia settlers so as to arouse animosity, for the acts of the colony show that the Catholics were deemed numerous and active enough to crush. In 1641 it was enacted that no popish recusant should attempt to hold any office in that colony under the penalty of a thousand pounds of tobacco.[2]

Father Roger Rigby was soon after stricken down with illness amid his apostolic labors at Patuxent.

The efforts of the missionary at Port Tobacco resulted in the conversion of almost all the tribe, so that Father White resolved to make their town his residence, Piscataway having become exposed to the ravages of the Susquehannas, who had already attacked a mission station and killed all the whites who were there cultivating the soil. The report that the missionary himself had been slain spread far and wide, and reached the ears of the holy Jesuit Father Isaac Jogues,

[1] "Annual Letter," 1642. Foley, "Records," iii., p. 381.

[2] An unscrupulous enemy of the missionaries at this time attests the constant conversions of Protestants as distinctly as the Jesuits and their friends. "His country," writes the author of "Virginia and Maryland," "till he employed Captain Stone, never had but papist governors, and counsellors, dedicated to St. Ignatius, as they call him, and his Chappel and Holy day kept solemnly. The Protestants, for the most part, miserably disturbed in the exercise of their Religion, by many wayes plainly enforced, or by subtil practises, or hope of preferment to turn Papists, of which a very sad account may from time to time be given, even from their first arrivall to this very day." P. 13.

who, rescued by the Dutch from the inhuman cruelties of the Mohawks, was then at Manhattan.[1]

The danger of the inroads of this fierce tribe compelled the missionaries to confine themselves to visits to the Indian towns instead of taking up their residence in them. "Wherefore," says Father Fisher, "we have to content ourselves with excursions, many of which we have made this year (1640), ascending the river called the Patuxen. Hence this fruit has arisen, the conversion of young Queen of Patuxen and her mother, also of the young Queen of Portobacco, of the wife and two sons of Tayac the great, so-called, that is the emperor, who died last year, and of one hundred and thirty others. The following is our manner of making an excursion: We are carried in a pinnace or galley (the father, the interpreter, and a servant), two rowing when the wind fails or is contrary, the other steering. We take with us a little chest of bread, butter, cheese, corn cut and dried before ripening, beans and a little flour; another chest with a bottle of wine for mass, a bottle of holy water for baptism, an altar stone, chalice, vestments; while a third box contained trifles for presents to the Indians, bells, combs,

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[1] In this raid the Susquehannas sent a spear at an Anacostan Indian, piercing him through the body below the arm-pits. He was carried in a dying state to Piscataway, where Father White prepared him for death, and touched his wounds with a reliquary containing a particle of the True Cross. As he was summoned to attend an aged dying Indian at some distance, he directed the Anacostan's friends to take his body when he died to the chapel for burial. The next day as the missionary was returning in his canoe, he was met by this very man, perfectly restored to health, a red spot on each side showing where the wound had been. He declared "that from the hour at which the Father had left him he had not ceased to invoke the most holy name of Jesus, to whom he ascribed his recovery. The missionary urged him in view of so great a favor to thank God and persevere, treating with love and reverence that holy name and the most holy cross." "Relatio Itineris," pp. 87–8.

fishhooks, needles, thread, &c.; a small mat to pitch as a tent when they had to sleep in the open air, and a larger one for rainy seasons. The servant is equipped for hunting and for preparing food when taken. In our excursions we endeavor, when possible, to reach some English dwelling or Indian village at nightfall; if not, we land, and the missionary secures the boat, gathers wood and builds a fire, while the others go out to hunt. If they take any game it is prepared; if not we lie down by the fire and take our rest. If fear of rain threatens we erect our hut and cover it with a larger mat spread over, and, thank God, we enjoy this humble fare and hard couch with as joyful a mind as we did more luxurious provisions in Europe; with this present comfort that God imparts to us now a foretaste of what He will bestow on those who labor faithfully in this life, and He mitigates all hardships with a sense of pleasure, so that his divine majesty appears to be present with us in an extraordinary manner." [1]

Meanwhile Lord Baltimore had applied to the Propaganda to establish a mission in Maryland, and give faculties to a Prefect and secular priests; the Sacred Congregation accordingly, in August, 1641, issued faculties, which were transmitted to Dom Rossetti, afterwards Archbishop of Tarsus. The Jesuits remonstrated in an appeal to the Holy See, saying, "The Fathers do not refuse to make way for other laborers, but they humbly submit for consideration whether it is expedient to remove those who first entered into that vineyard at their own expense, who for seven years have endured want and sufferings, who have lost four of their number, laboring faithfully unto death, who have defended sound doctrine and the liberty of the Church, incurring odium and temporal

[1] "Relatio Itineris," Annual Letter, 1642, pp. 80–3.

loss to themselves, who have acquired the languages of the Indians." [1]

This memorial arrived too late. The Propaganda had already acted on the petition of Lord Baltimore, and in 1642 two secular priests arrived in Maryland to begin the mission established by the Sacred Congregation. The names of these pioneers of the secular clergy in this country are not recorded, and we have no details of their labors. On finding that they were expected to take a different theological view of questions for which they had not been prepared, they declined to condemn the course pursued by the missionaries already in the country, leaving it to superior authority to decide the question after due examination.[2]

Meanwhile attempts had been made in England, through the intervention of Mrs. Peasley,[3] to effect a reconciliation between the lord proprietor and the missionaries. Lord Baltimore long resisted all advances, but finally yielded, exacting severe conditions,[4] which the provincial was to sign,

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[1] "Memorial" of F. Henry More. Foley, "Records," iii., p. 363.

[2] Through the kindness of His Eminence Cardinal Jacobini search was made in the archives of the Propaganda for any record of the faculties granted, but, unfortunately, none could be traced. Neill, in his "Founders of Maryland," p. 103, charges these priests with not keeping faith with Lord Baltimore; but this is most unjust, the Propaganda having sent them out to act as missionaries, not as judges on a point of canon law, which could have been decided at Rome had Lord Baltimore sought a decision.

[3] Letters of W. Peasley, Oct. 1 and 7, 1642, of Ann Peasley, Oct. 5.

[4] They resigned all claim to the lands ceded by the Indian king, and agreed to take no others; they accepted the English statutes against pious uses, as in force in Maryland, and agreed to take up no lands except by special permission of Lord Baltimore; the missionaries were to claim no exemptions or privileges in Maryland not legally allowed them in England, except that corporal punishment was not to be inflicted on any missionary unless for a capital offense. No missionary was to be sent to Maryland without special permission of Lord Baltimore; any missionary

and every missionary sent out was to obtain direct permission from the lord proprietor and take an oath of allegiance to him.[1]

Under these stringent conditions two Jesuit Fathers were proposed to Lord Baltimore, and, receiving his sanction, sailed for Maryland in 1642.[2] But, though harmony was restored, the missionaries must have felt discouraged and hampered, and the new Conditions of Settlement issued by Lord Baltimore[3] bear the impress of great jealousy of the Church, reviving the English ideas of mortmain, and inadvertently paving the way to direct persecution of the whole Catholic body.

The Puritan party in England, while the Anglican church was dominant, sought the support of the Catholics who suffered like themselves from the rule of the State church, although the scaffolds did not run red with Puritan as they did with Catholic blood.

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then in the colony, or subsequently sent, was to be recalled within a year at the request of Lord Baltimore. No missionary was to be allowed in the colony who did not take an oath of allegiance to him as lord proprietor.

[1] The Conditions in 1648 excepted specially all corporations, etc., as well spiritual as temporal, and prohibited their acquiring or holding land without special license, either in their own name or in the name of any person to their use. Kilty, p. 41. Those in 1649 forbade any adventurer or planter to transfer lands to any such corporation or in trust for it, without license. Ib., p. 50.

[2] "Relatio Itineris," p. 89, is incorrectly translated "two others"; it should read "two new Fathers." Who they were even the minute researches of Br. Foley and Father Treacy fail to enable us to say positively. There are three letters extant of W. Peasley and his wife Ann, addressed evidently to the provincial in September and October, 1642. "I have prevailed for the present employment of two of yours." They were to sail in Ingle's vessel, but may not have come.

[3] "Puncta ab Illust. Dom. Barone Baltimore concepta quæ subscribi exigit a R. Prov. Soc. Jesu in Anglia." MSS. Stonyhurst, vol. iv., No. 108. "Omnibus has præsentes lecturis." Ib.

In Virginia, Puritan settlers from New England were treated with great harshness by the authorities, zealous upholders of the Anglican church; Clayborne, who had tendered the oath of supremacy to Lord Baltimore, being then an adherent of the dominant party. To these harassed Puritans Lord Baltimore offered an asylum, and many settled in Maryland. When the civil war was enkindled in England these men began to evince great hostility to Lord Baltimore and the Catholics. After the royal power fell Clayborne joined the Puritan side, and, taking as his lieutenant a reckless sea captain named Ingle, once, as generally believed, a pirate, but now a zealous Puritan, commanding a ship which he called The Reformation, resolved once more to attempt an overthrow of the authority of the Baltimores. Aided by the ungrateful Puritans, who supported their old enemy against their friend, Clayborne not only held Kent Island against all the efforts of Governor Calvert to reduce it, but with Ingle's aid invaded St. Mary's country, drove the governor from his capital, compelling him to seek flight in Virginia, and made himself master of the province.[1] He let Ingle loose on the Catholic settlers, and pretending the authority of a letter of marque, this ruffian plundered the houses of the chief Roman Catholics, like Cornwaleys and Fenwick, and especially the missionaries, and for two years maintained a reign of terror in Maryland. Ingle had brought some of the missionaries over to the province as captain of vessels chartered or owned by Lord Baltimore, and was familiar

[1] "The Maryland authorities had invited to the province the Puritans persecuted in Virginia, and any who wished to come from New England, where the rule was too strict for many. But these new comers proved most ungrateful. 'Finding themselves in a capacity to oversway those that had so received and relieved them, they began to pick quarrels, first,' says an old writer, 'with the Papists.'" "Leah and Rachel," cited by Hawks, "P. E. Church in Maryland," p. 39.

with their residences and their persons. The Catholic gentry and the missionaries were the chief objects of his malice. Invading their estates with a lawless band, he drove out or seized the people, carried off and destroyed property, leaving the houses mere wrecks. Captain Cornwaleys estimated the damage done his place in February, 1645, at three thousand pounds.

The houses of the Jesuit Fathers at Potopaco and St. Inigoes were similarly plundered and wrecked, but this temporal loss was little compared to the affliction of the hunted and scattered Catholics when they beheld the venerable Father Andrew White, the founder of the Maryland mission, and Father Thomas Copley, fall into the hands of this man, who, treating them as criminals, loaded them with heavy irons. After being kept confined for some time, the two missionaries were sent by Ingle to England.

There the two Fathers were indicted under the penal laws of 27 Elizabeth, for having been ordained priests abroad and coming into and remaining in England as such, contrary to the statute, a crime punishable with death. When brought to trial, however, they pleaded that they had been brought violently into England, and had not come of their own will, but against it. The judges acknowledged the force of the argument and directed an acquittal. They were not, it would seem, liberated at once, but were detained in prison and finally sent out of England under an order of perpetual banishment.

Father White reached Belgium, whence he endeavored in vain to regain the missions of his beloved Maryland; but his advanced age and his broken constitution would in themselves have made him no longer fit for such a laborious life as awaited the priests who attempted to revive religion there.

As we can no longer record his labors on our soil, it is well to sketch here the life of this founder of the Maryland mission. Father Andrew White was born in London in 1579, and was educated at Douay, where he was ordained priest about the year 1605. Returning to England as a seminary priest he fell into the hands of the authorities at the very threshold of his missionary career, and after spending some time in prison, was sentenced to perpetual banishment with forty-five other priests in 1606.[1] Seeking admission to the Society of Jesus, he was one of the first to enter the novitiate opened at St. John's, Louvain, where one of his fellow novices was the celebrated Father Thomas Garnett, who, returning to England, died on the scaffold in the following year. Father White went through his period of probation with great humility and piety, preparing for the dangerous mission of his native land, to which at the close of his noviceship he was at once sent. There he labored with great zeal and fruit, attending by stealth the oppressed Catholics, encouraging them in trials, sustaining their faith, and when an opportunity offered, instructing Protestants and reconciling them to the faith of their fathers, the recollection of which was still fresh in most English families. After some years his superiors appointed him to a professor's chair in one of the colleges maintained by the English province in Spain.

His ability, learning, and piety found an ample field, and he was prefect of studies, professor of sacred Scripture, dogmatic theology, and Hebrew, at Valladolid and Seville, holding also the position of superior or minister. It is an evidence of his great merit and learning that he was admitted to the four vows as a professed Father on the 15th of June, 1619.[2]

[1] Challoner, "Missionary Priests."

[2] Foley, "Records of the English Province," iii., p. 334.

After forming future martyrs and apostles in the colleges of the society, he was sent to Belgium, where he taught theology at Louvain and Liege for several years, till, at his earnest request, he was allowed to share the labors of those whom he had trained for the post of peril.[1] His career in the Maryland mission among whites and Indians has been already traced. After his second banishment he succeeded in reaching England, and was assigned to the Hampshire district, or residence of St. Thomas of Canterbury, spending the last years of his life in the house of a Catholic nobleman. As his weakness increased he was urged to prepare for death, but he answered, "My hour is not yet come, nor is St. John the Evangelist's day." When that festival arrived, in the year 1656, he heard interiorly: "To-day thou shalt be with me." He then directed a fellow-priest to be summoned, and, receiving the last sacraments, closed his mortified life December 27, 1656. Through life to its close, on his missions and in prison, he fasted twice a week on bread and water. When his jailer once told him that if he treated his poor old body so badly he would not have strength to be hanged at Tyburn, the apostle of Maryland replied: "It is this very fasting which gives me strength enough to bear all for the sake of Christ."[2]

When Fathers White and Copley fell into the hands of Ingle, Father Bernard Hartwell, who had been sent out in 1645 as Superior of the Maryland mission, seems to have

[1] Tanner, "Societas Jesu Apostolorum Imitatrix," Prague, 1694, p. 803.

[2] Annual Letter, 1656, cited by Foley, iii., p. 338. This author gives, pp. 268–270, two letters of Father Andrew White. His Indian Catechism is extant at Rome, but of his Maryland Grammar and Vocabulary nothing is definitely known. The recovery of Father White's Indian works would be the more valuable, as he was beyond all doubt the first Englishman who attempted to reduce an Indian language to grammatical forms. See, too, "Woodstock Letters," xiv., p. 384.

eluded the persecutors; while Father Roger Rigbie and John Cooper escaped to Virginia by the aid of Indian converts or were taken there as prisoners. Both died in that province in 1646, how or where no record remains to tell, but certainly victims to the hatred of the Catholic faith, even though they did not perish by the hand of violence. Both were young and zealous; both were of the number of twenty-three young Jesuits who in July and August, 1640, wrote to the Provincial, Father Edward Knott, earnestly seeking to be sent to the Maryland mission. These letters full of zeal and devotion, are preserved as precious treasures in the College of the Sacred Heart at Woodstock, Maryland, and from them we reverently traced the fac-similes of their signa-

tures. Father Roger Rigbie arrived in Maryland in 1641, and soon won universal esteem. Though prostrated by serious disease at Patuxent, he persevered, mastered the language of his flock, and composed a catechism in it. Father John Cooper, a native of Hampshire, reached Maryland in 1644, and the next year was torn from his flock.

Father Hartwell, the Superior of the mission, did not survive these terrible blows. His death too is recorded in this fatal year. Not a priest was left in the province of Maryland.[1]

So closed the first period of the Maryland mission. Its record is a noble one. Imbued with Catholicity the province had

[1] Foley, "Records of the English Province," iii., pp. 375–387; vii., pp. 163, 342, 650; B. U. Campbell in U. S. Cath. Mag., vii., pp. 529, 850; Rev. W. P. Treacy, "Catalogue of our Missionary Fathers, 1634–1805," Woodstock Letters, xvi., pp. 89–90.

been conducted with a wisdom seen in no other colony. The destitution, famine, and Indian wars that mark the early days of other settlements were unknown in Maryland. Catholicity was planted with the colony, and exercised its beneficent influence; the devoted priests instructed their people assiduously, teaching the young, and reviving the faith of the adults; men led away by false doctrines in England, moved by their example, sought light and guidance. Full of apostolic zeal these priests extended their care to the Indian tribes along both shores of the Potomac to the Piscataway, and up the Patuxent to Mattapany, so that nearly all the Indians on those two peninsulas were thoroughly instructed in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and many received into the church had learned to lead a Christian life. The success had not been attained without sacrifice; five of the devoted priests in the short twelve years had laid down their lives; two were in chains to stand trial and perhaps face death on the scaffold.[1]

[1] The question has been mooted whether it is proper to say that Maryland was a Catholic colony. It has been well replied: "The colony whose only spiritual guides were Catholics; whose only public worship was according to Catholic rites, was a Catholic colony" (Scharf, i., p. 166); and surely it was so when the Catholicity was active, zealous, exemplary, and edifying. The "Objections Answered Concerning Maryland," a document of the time of the settlement, discusses at length whether the Catholic colony of Maryland would be dangerous to New England and Virginia.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE MARYLAND MISSION RESTORED. 1648–1668.

With the triumph of Clayborne and Ingle Catholicity seemed so utterly overthrown in Maryland that Lord Baltimore lost heart, and thought of abandoning the province. He gave orders to secure his personal property and send it over to England. But his brother Leonard was made of sterner stuff. Gathering a force in Virginia he suddenly surprised the faction in Maryland and recovered possession of the province, where the authority of the lord proprietary was once more established.

The field was again open to the labors of the priests of the Catholic Church. It would seem that Lord Baltimore again applied to the Holy See for secular missionaries, but failed to obtain them,[1] and the Jesuit Fathers were permitted to re-

[1] Foley, "Records," iii., p. 387.

Lord Baltimore complained to Agretti in 1669 that the Holy See for four and twenty years had refused to send missionaries to Maryland, which carries back his unsuccessful application to 1645. Mgr. Urban Cerri, in his report to Pope Innocent XI., speaking of Maryland, says: "A mission might easily be settled in that country, the said lord having frequently desired it of the Congregation." Steele, "An Account of the State of the Roman Catholick Religion," p. 169. It was apparently well known that Lord Baltimore wished, about this time, to substitute other missionaries. In "Virginia and Maryland; or the Lord Baltimore's printed Case uncased and answered," London, 1655, we read: "The better to get friends, first made it a receptacle for Papists and Priests and Jesuites, in some extraordinary and zealous manner, but hath since discontented them many times and many ways; though Intelligence with Bulls, Letters, &c. from the Pope and Rome, be ordinary for his own Intersts." (Force's edition, p. 12.)

visit the land where their heroic little band had labored amid suffering and death. Father Thomas Copley was sent over as he had been eleven years before. Writing to the General of the Society on the 1st of March, 1648, he reports his arrival with his companion in Virginia in January. From that province he penetrated to St. Mary's, where he found his flock collected after having been scattered for three years. Once more was the holy sacrifice offered in the land, confessions heard, baptism conferred; but caution was still required, and the priests performed their sacred duties almost secretly. Leaving his companion, Father Lawrence Starkey, concealed apparently in Virginia, Father Copley then proceeded to his Indian neophytes from among whom he had been torn by Ingle's men.

Though the authority of Lord Baltimore was restored, the state of affairs, and especially of the Catholic Church in Maryland, became very precarious. Puritans expelled from Virginia had been allowed by Lord Baltimore to settle in Anne Arundel County, but from the first they disavowed his authority as supporting antichrist. As their numbers increased they made common cause with Clayborne, and began to outnumber the Catholics, who, for a time, had formed the majority, especially of the landholders, as the contemporaneous records of wills show.

The illustrious governor, Leonard Calvert, did not long survive his triumph. This devoted Catholic died amid his family and friends on the 9th of June, 1647, leaving the government of the colony to Thomas Greene. In the following year Lord Baltimore appointed William Stone as governor, and, in view of a future preponderance of Protestants, endeavored to establish, as by a charter of liberty, that freedom of conscience which his father and himself had so long advocated and practiced.

In pursuance of his instructions Governor Stone convened an assembly at St. Mary's, on the 2d day of April, 1649. This body consisted of the lieutenant-governor, Stone representing the Catholic proprietary; the council, Thomas Greene and Robert Clarke, Catholics; John Price and Robert Vaughn, Protestants; and nine burgesses, Cuthbert Fenwick, William Bretton, George Manners, John Maunsell, Thomas Thornborough and Walter Peake, Catholics, and Philip Conner, Richard Banks, and Richard Browne, Protestants. The assembly is a famous one in history, as it passed an "Act concerning religion," which, after inflicting penalties on any one who should call another by a sectarian name of reproach, proceeds in these noble words: "And whereas the enforcing of conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it has been practiced, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this province, and the better to preserve mutual love and unity amongst the inhabitants, no person or persons whatsoever within this province or the islands, ports, harbors, creeks, or havens thereunto belonging, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be any ways troubled or molested, or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof within this province or the islands thereunto belonging, nor any way compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion, against his or her consent."[1]

"The passage of this act," says McSherry, "is one of the proud boasts of Maryland, and its exact execution until the

[1] The acts of 1649, 1650, eighteen in number, were drawn up by Lord Baltimore and transmitted to the Assembly, which passed only a part in 1649 (April 21) and the rest April 25, 1650, in sessions held at St. Mary's. They were confirmed together by Lord Baltimore's declaration, dated August 26, 1650. "Maryland Archives," i., pp. 244–7; Sainsbury, "Calendar of State Papers," 1, p. 329; "Colonial Entry Book," vol. 53, pp. 4–20.

government was overthrown by the Puritans, and from its restoration till the Protestant revolution, forms one of her greatest glories."

Efforts have been made to deprive Catholics of the credit of this act. Gladstone's endorsement of the efforts gave rise to a triumphant Catholic vindication.[1] It was no novelty: it was the last Catholic act confirming the policy which had obtained from the founding of the colony, and which was maintained so long as Catholic proprietors were in power, ceasing only with Catholic influence. "The religious toleration which historians have so much extolled in the Catholic colonists and founders of Maryland did not originate with, or derive its existence from that law of 1649, but, on the contrary, it existed long anterior to and independent of it. This great feature in the Catholic government of Maryland had been established by the Catholic lord proprietary, his lieutenant-governor, agents and colonists, and faithfully practiced for fifteen years prior to the Toleration Act of 1649. From 1634 to 1649 it had been enforced with unwavering firmness, and protected with exalted benevolence."

The act of 1649, with its broad views of religious freedom, is one of the grounds of pride in Catholic Maryland. Naturally those who are haunted by a perpetual jealousy of every Catholic claim have sought, by specious arguments and cunningly arrayed facts, to make it appear that the Catholic body in Maryland could lay no claim to the honor.

The history of the act and of others closely connected with it is now known. Lord Baltimore, who saw the necessity of adopting some plan for the future government of the province that would save his own rights and the liberty of the Catholic settlers from being overthrown, drew up a body of

[1] R. H. Clarke, Catholic World, December, 1875.

sixteen laws during the summer of 1648, and transmitted them from Bath, in England, to be passed and made perpetual by the Assembly, and with them the oaths to be taken by the governor and the members of the council. These acts were to be passed without any alteration, addition, or diminution. The Assembly of 1649 passed nine of these acts in April, and in the Assembly held in the following year, the other seven were passed, Lord Baltimore having complained of their neglect. In their action in April, 1650, the whole sixteen laws were read and considered, and they were assented to by the proprietary in one instrument, dated August 20, 1650.

The first of these laws was the act concerning religion. It emanated from the Catholic proprietary, and was passed by a legislature in which the majority were Catholics.[1]

The next year the Assembly required an oath from members, which was in itself a harbinger to Catholics of coming difficulties. One Catholic member, Thomas Matthews, of

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[1] Johnson, "Foundation of Maryland," pp. 111–123. Mr. Gladstone pretended that this act was based on an order of the English House of Commons, giving freedom of conscience in the Summer Islands, and also on a British ordinance of 1647. The assertion, coming from a British Prime Minister, attracted attention. Examination shows that the order merely gave freedom of worship to an independent congregation, under Rev. Patrick Copland, in the Bermudas; that it passed only one house, and never took effect. The ordinance of 1647, referred to by Mr. Gladstone, never passed, and so far as toleration was concerned, the House of Commons resolved that it was not to extend to Catholics, or take away any penal laws against them. "Journals of the Commons," 1644–6. Rushworth, "Collection," vii., p. 849. Johnson, "Foundation of Maryland," pp. 126–129.

Father Hunter, in the last century, referred to the act as passed in 1640, but it is more likely that this is only an error in copying for 1649. His statement that it was re-enacted in 1650 is easily understood. The entries show that in 1650 the whole sixteen laws were read and considered, and this was considered a re-enacting of the nine passed in 1649.

Saint Inigoes, on his refusing to take this oath, to which he declared he had conscientious objections, was expelled; and his successor, Fenwick, also a Catholic, took it only with the understanding that the craftly devised language was not meant to infringe liberty of conscience or religion.

To preserve the Catholic missions among the native tribes in which so much had been accomplished since the establishment of the colony, Lord Baltimore, in 1651, set apart ten thousand acres of land at Calverton manor, on the Wicomico River, for the remnant of the Mattapany, Wicomicons, Patuxent, Lamasconsons, Highahwixons, and Chapticon Indians; the Assembly had already recognized his constant efforts to Christianize the native tribes, and thus the first Indian reserve was formed by a Catholic, and under the direction of the Catholic clergy.

The Catholics were at this time, as estimated by the laborious and accurate Mr. Davis, based on wills, conveyances, tax lists, and official records, three-fourths of the population of Maryland. They enjoyed the services of zealous priests who attended chapels at different points from Cornwallys' Neck to Point Lookout, and education secular and religious was fostered.[1]

In 1652, Clayborne and Bennett, as commissioners of the Commonwealth of England, overthrew the proprietary government, and when Lord Baltimore prepared to restore it, they convened an assembly, first prohibiting any Catholic to vote for or to sit as a delegate. The body called, after thus excluding the Catholic majority, passed an act concerning religion, which began, "It is hereby enacted and declared that none who profess and exercise the Popish

[1] There are some data showing the existence of a thriving school conducted by Ralph Crouch, under the direction of the Catholic clergy at this time.

(commonly called the Roman Catholic) religion, can be protected in this province by the laws of England, formerly established and yet unrepealed; nor by the government of the Commonwealth of England, etc., but to be restrained from the exercise thereof." It concluded thus: "Provided such liberty be not extended to Popery or prelacy, nor to such as under the profession of Christ, hold forth and practice licentiousness." [1]

A reign of terror was thus established instead of the tolerant and friendly policy of the Catholic rulers. Governor Stone endeavored to restore the proprietary's power. He took the field, with the support of the Catholics and the Protestants who adhered to Lord Baltimore, but was defeated in a hard-fought engagement, after which the Puritans evinced their ferocious cruelty by shooting four prisoners in cold blood. As three of these were Catholics, it shows that hatred of Catholicity guided them in this as in their legislation.[2]

Then we find the anti-Catholic power gaining. Thus, in 1654, Luke Gardner was charged with enticing Eleanor Hatton to his house, "to train her up in the Roman Catholic religion." This was deemed "a great affront to the government, and of very dangerous and destructive consequences in relation to the peace and welfare of the province."

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[1] Scharf, "History of Maryland," i., p. 215. "Maryland Archives," i., pp. 340–1. Hawks, "Maryland," pp. 42–3.

[2] The Puritan account, "Virginia and Baltimore," p. 16, suppresses all mention of the execution in cold blood of Eltonhead, Lewis, Legate, Pedro. The character of the tract must be borne in mind in weighing its value elsewhere. For another account see Hammond, "Leah and Rachel," p. 25. The petition of Edward Lloyd and seventy-seven inhabitants of Severne *alias* Anne Arundel County, in 1653, against the oath of allegiance to Lord Baltimore, because Catholicity was tolerated is given in "Virginia and Baltimore," pp. 28–9. They certainly had no part in passing the act of 1649.

While Maryland was thus convulsed, and difficulties increased for Catholics, Father Thomas Copley died in 1653, leaving Father Lawrence Starkey alone on the mission, but he was joined the next year by Father Francis Fitzherbert, who made St. Inigoes his residence, the veteran Starkey attending the scattered missions from Portobacco.

The Puritans, after their victory on the Severn, and their savage triumph, hastened to St. Mary's County. There they rushed into the houses of the priests, clamoring for the lives of the hypocrites, as they styled them, and certainly intending for any they might secure, the fate of the Catholics slaughtered on the field. Such had been their course in England, and it would find greater pretext here. But the two Fathers managed to escape, ascribing it to the Providence of God that they were carried away before the very eyes of their vindictive pursuers; but their books, furniture, and everything else in the houses fell a prey to the spoilers. The missionaries were carried into Virginia amid constant peril, and in the utmost want of all things. There they lived in a mean hut, sunk in the ground like a cistern or a tomb, so that they compared themselves to Saint Athanasius, who lay concealed for several years in a similar refuge. Their supplies from England were intercepted; they could obtain no wine to say mass, and their ministry was reduced to stealthy visits, by boats, to Catholics who could be reached from Virginia.[1]

The missionaries, unable to return to their congregations in Maryland, remained in Virginia, where Father Starkey died in the midst of his trials, February 19, 1657.[2]

Lord Baltimore, however, at last recovered his authority, liberty of conscience was restored, and Father Fitzherbert

[1] Foley, "Records," iii., p. 389.

[2] His real name seems to have been Laurence Sankey. He was born in Lancashire in 1606, and entered the Society in 1636. Foley, vii., p. 685.

returned to Maryland. The influx of Protestants after this increased, and the Jesuit Fathers labored with zeal to win over such as seemed well disposed. This led to a curious case, in 1658, when Father Francis Fitzherbert was indicted for treason and sedition, and giving out rebellious and mutinous speeches, and endeavoring to raise distractions and disturbances. The grounds were that he had preached at the general muster of the militia, at Patuxent and Newtown, and had threatened to excommunicate Thomas Gerrard of the council for not bringing his wife and children to church. The arraigned priest demurred on the ground that by the very first law of the country, Holy Church within this province was to have and enjoy all her rights, liberties, and franchises, wholly and without blemish, amongst which that of preaching and teaching is not the least. "Neither imports it what church is there meant, since by the true intent of the act concerning religion, every church professing to believe in God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, is accounted Holy Church here." Moreover he claimed that by the act entitled, "An Act concerning Religion," no one was to be molested in the free exercise of his religion; "and undoubtedly preaching and teaching is the free exercise of every churchman's religion." The court, all apparently Protestants except one, sustained the demurrer.[1]

The early Maryland Catholics were liberal in contributing to the support of the church, and frequent legacies and bequests appear in their wills. On the 10th of November, 1661, as several of the good and zealous Roman Catholics of Newtown and St. Clement's Bay had agreed to erect a chapel, and had selected as most convenient for them all a spot on land of William Bretton, Esq., one of the lawgivers

[1] Davis, "Day Star," p. 55.

MANOR HOUSE AT NEWTOWN OR BRETTON'S NECK.

of 1649, that gentleman, with the hearty good liking of his dearly beloved wife, Temperance Bretton, "to the greater honor and glory of Almighty God, the ever Immaculate Virgin Mary and all saints," granted to the said Roman Catholic inhabitants, and their posterity, an acre and a half of ground for a chapel and cemetery, and here rose the modest chapel of Saint Ignatius, the first Catholic church of Newtown.[1]

With the restoration of the Stuarts and the fall of the Puritan rule, Lord Baltimore regained his authority, and Catholic settlers began to arrive. Before 1668, John and Joseph Hebron, Catholics, from Scotland, settled on the eastern shore, in Kent County, and their descendants retained the faith for some generations.[2]

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[1] The deed for the land for the church and graveyard bears date Nov. 10, 1661. Davis, "Day Star," p. 227. It was a triangular piece at the head of St. Nicholas' Creek, near Bowling's Cove. A few old bricks, with mortar still adhering, are the last relics of St. Ignatius Chapel, and near it is the graveyard used for more than two centuries. The church on Sundays in the old time was reached in sailboats from miles around.

The manor at Newtown, or Bretton's Neck, passed from Bretton, and was purchased by the Jesuit missionaries. In their hands the house and chapel have been a centre of Catholicity, surrounded by lands and streams that bear the name of St. Francis, St. Margaret, St. Lawrence, St. Peter, St. John, St. Winifred, St. Michael, St. Gabriel, St. Anne. The house erected by Bretton, of old English brick, is still standing, its original one story having had another added, making it a stately mansion, beautifully situated on the Neck. It contains relics of Fathers who labored in Maryland in the last two centuries. "Historical points connected with Newtown manor and church, St. Mary's Co., Md." Woodstock Letters, xiii., pp. 69, 116, and xiv., p. 61, etc.

[2] Hanson, "History of Old Kent," pp. 197–8. Virginia about this time (1661) showed the old intolerance by passing an act imposing a fine of £20 on any one who neglected to attend the service of the Protestant church.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE JESUITS AND FRANCISCANS IN MARYLAND, 1669–1690.

From the difficulty in which the Society was involved in England, and a great loss of means for maintaining the mission, few of the Jesuit Fathers sent to Maryland during the administration of Charles Calvert, who was governor of the province from 1661 to 1675, remained for any considerable period.

When the Abbate Claudius Agretti, a canon of Bruges, was sent by the Holy See on a special mission to England in 1669, he visited Cecil, Lord Baltimore, at his villa, and that aged nobleman complained that there were only two priests in Maryland to minister to the two thousand Catholics in that province, and that the Holy See, although solicited for twenty-four years to send missionaries there, had taken no action in the matter.[1]

Of the three priests of the Society on the mission in Maryland in 1669, one, Father Peter Pelcon or Manners, a young

[1] Brady, "Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy in England and Scotland," Rome, 1877, p. 116. So far as can be traced the Jesuit Fathers employed on the Maryland mission from 1660 to 1674, were Fathers Henry Pelham, Edward Tidder, John Fitzwilliam, Francis Fitzherbert, Peter Pelcon, Peter Riddell, George Pole, William Warren, Michael Forster (Gulick); but the only two actually there at the close of 1669 were William Pelham and Michael Forster (Gulick). Father Treacy (Woodstock Letters, xv., p. 91), omits Fitzwilliam and Riddell, and places Forster later. Foley, "Records," vii., gives the number on the Maryland mission in 1660 as 1; 1661, 2; 1663–7, 3; 1672–4, 2, vol. vii., xc–xcvi. The Annual Letters, 1671–4 ("Rel. Itin.," pp. 98–99), gives two as the number for those years.

and zealous missioner full of the apostolic spirit, met death in the discharge of his duty. He had bound himself by a special vow to consecrate his whole life and labors to the Maryland mission, if his superiors permitted it. A saintly man who had vowed to love no creature except in God and for God, his influence was extraordinary. Catholics were brought by him to a loving and exact discharge of all Christian duties, and to firmness of faith amid trials and seductions; even Protestants, won by his pure and devoted character, sought guidance and instruction from him, so that nearly a hundred conversions were ascribed to his influence, although he did not live to receive them all into the Church. On Wednesday, in Easter week, April 24, 1669, he was summoned to a distant call, and at once set out. The spring rains had swollen the streams into torrents, and in attempting to cross one, the missionary and his horse were swept down the current and engulfed in the waters.[1]

The report of the Abbate Agretti was considered in a Particular Congregation of the Propaganda, held September 9, 1670, and the last decree then passed directed "that letters should be written to the Internuncio regarding the mission to the island of Maryland in America, in order that at the instance of the temporal lord of the aforesaid island, he should depute missionaries of approved merit, and send in their names to the Cardinal Protector for the issue of the necessary faculties."[2]

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[1] He had been twelve years in the Society and died at the age of 38. Notice of him by Very Rev. F. Simeon, provincial of England, Foley, iii., p. 390; Annual Letter, in "Relatio Itineris," p. 93; his real name was apparently Pelcon, Foley, vii., p. 679. The Annual Letters report 54 conversions in 1671; 70 in 1672; 28 in 1673. The baptisms for three years were 100, 70, 75.

[2] Brady, "Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy," pp. 118–9. The Internuncio was the Abbate Airoldi at Brussels.

A mission founded about this time in Maryland by the Franciscan Fathers of the English province was evidently a result of this decree of the Propaganda. The Jesuits had an illustrious founder of their mission in the person of Father Andrew White; the Franciscan mission claims as its founder a truly apostolic man, Father Massæus Massey a Sancta Barbara. In a congregation of the province held October 12, 1672, in Somerset House, one of the royal palaces in London, then apparently the residence of the Portuguese ambassador, the establishment of a mission of the order in Maryland was decided upon, and Father Massey was appointed to found it, with another Father to be selected by the provincial.[1] Father Massey with his associate reached Maryland apparently in 1673, and entered into a portion of the labors and harvest of the missionaries already there; perfect harmony being maintained between them for the common prosperity of the Catholic cause.[2]

In 1674, the French Jesuit Father John Pierron, who had been employed on the Mohawk mission, and had thus become familiar with the English colonial ways, was transferred for a time to the Acadian mission. While attached to this station, he made a tour through the English colonies as far as Virginia. On the way he was shocked to see baptism so generally neglected, and endeavored to do what good he could, but he found few to benefit by his ministry. He had interviews with some of the ministers at Boston, and the Labbadists a few years after found his visit there still a topic of conversation. He was at last cited before the General Court, but he proceeded on his journey. "He found," says the Relation of 1674, "in Maryland two of our English Fathers and one

[1] "Ex-Registro, FF.M., Prov. Angliæ," p. 85—Oliver, 'Collections,' p. 541.

[2] Annual Letter of 1673, in "Relatio Itineris," pp. 98–9.

brother; the Fathers dressed like gentlemen, and the brother like a farmer; in fact, he has charge of the farm which gives the two missionaries their support. They labor with success in converting the Protestants of the country, where there are in fact many Catholics, among others, the governor. As these two Fathers are not enough alone, Father Pierron offers voluntarily to go and help them, and at the same time found a mission among the neighboring Indians, whose language he understands. But this scheme presents many difficulties and seems to me impossible."[1]

The want of all records of this period makes it impossible to tell in what field each of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries labored at this time. New York, in which New Jersey was then included, was open to Catholics and some may have settled there, to whom these Fathers occasionally made visits. There seems to have been a wider field than that of the two thousand Catholics in Maryland, who were nearly all in the same district, for in 1674 the Franciscans in a congregation held in May, appointed Fathers Polycarp Wicksted and Basil Hobart to the Maryland mission, and the next year the Jesuit Father Nicholas Gulick came to America with Father Francis Pennington and two lay brothers.[2] In the following year the Franciscan Father Henry a Sancto Francisco appears in Maryland, and in October, Father Edward Golding was sent out; Father Massey remaining superior till 1677, when Father Henry Carew replaced him, his predecessor becoming guardian of the convent in London. The same year the Jesuit Superior Thomas Gawen arrived.[3]

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[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1674, in "Relations Inédites," ii., pp. 8, 10; Dankers and Sluyter, "Journal," p. 388.

[2] Ex Registro, FF.M., Prov. Angliæ, p. 88. Jesuit Annual Letter, 1675, in "Rel. Itineris," p. 99.

[3] Ex Registro, pp. 97, 104, 108; Annual Letter, 1677. "Rel. Itin.," p. 100

Two Labbadists who visited Maryland about this time (1679–80) write: "Those persons who profess the Roman Catholic religion have great, indeed all freedom in Maryland, because the governor makes profession of that faith, and consequently there are priests and other ecclesiastics who travel and disperse themselves everywhere, and neglect nothing which serves for their profit and purpose." [1]

One result of this increase of the clergy was the opening in 1677 of a Catholic school in Maryland, with a course of study which included the humanities. It was directed by Father Forster and Mr. Thomas Hothersall, an approved scholastic of the Society, prevented by constant headaches from being ordained. The sons of the planters won applause by their application and progress. In 1681 two scholars who had passed through the course at this academy crossed the Atlantic to complete their university studies at St. Omer's, and with true American energy, at once made a bold effort to be the leaders in the various classes.

This system was kept up by the Jesuit Fathers in Maryland till the American Revolution, their school being occasionally suspended by the hostility of the provincial government. Trained in preparatory schools, the sons and even the daughters of the more wealthy Maryland Catholics were sent abroad; some returned to America to mix in the world; not a few young Marylanders became religious laboring in the vineyard in England or America, or leading holy lives in convent cloisters.[2]

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[1] Dankers and Sluyter, "Journal of a Voyage to New York," Brooklyn, 1867, p. 221. Of the Protestant ministers of Maryland and Virginia, they say, p. 218: "You hear often that these ministers are worse than anybody else, yea, are an abomination."

[2] Foley, "Records of the English Province," vii., p. 275; Woodstock Letters, xiii., p. 269.

Among the early pupils of this academy, we should probably find on the roll the name of Robert Brooke, a member of a pious Catholic family, who was born in Maryland in 1663, and entering the Society of Jesus at Watten in 1684, was apparently the first priest of the order ordained from Lord Baltimore's province, and he is the first of five priests his family gave to the Society of Jesus.[1]

The Protestants in Maryland, whether of the Established Church or the Puritan bodies, had been free to establish their own churches, but they were to all appearance profoundly indifferent. This was perhaps but the general rule, the French Calvinists in Florida, the Dutch in New York, the Swedish Lutherans on the Delaware, the Pilgrims of Plymouth, all coming over and remaining for some time without a minister of religion. It was not till 1650 that a Protestant clergyman, Rev. Mr. Wilkinson, appeared in the province, and he reflected no credit on his profession. The historians of the Episcopal Church in Maryland admit and deplore the unworthy character of the early ministers of their faith. Instead of building up Protestant congregations they induced many to seek the guidance of the Catholic priests, whose zeal and edifying life spoke louder than words. There could, under such circumstances, be little life in the Protestant body, and in 1676 we find the Rev. Mr. Yeo, one of the three Episcopal clergymen in Maryland, appealing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, drawing a sad picture of Protestantism in the colony, and urging him to solicit from Lord Baltimore some sup-

[1] Foley, "Records," vii., p. 91. Matthew Brooke, born in Maryland in 1672, is the first secular priest of the province. He subsequently entered the Society. Ib., p. 90. There is at Woodstock College, a very touching account by Father Peter Pelcom (Manners), of the death of Robert Brooke, Esq., "Narratio Mortis Admodum Piæ Doni Roberti Brooke in Marylandia, Anno Doni 1667, Octobris 2."

port for a Protestant ministry. The lord proprietary replied that he supported no clergy, that all denominations were free in Maryland, and that each had maintained its own ministers and churches voluntarily.[1]

During the period of Catholic influence in Maryland, the Indian converts in many cases lived side by side with the white settlers. The chiefs adopted the usages of civilized life; their daughters were educated and frequently married into families of the colonists. Descendants of the aboriginal rulers of the soil exist in the neighborhood of the Piscataway and on the eastern shore. It is constantly asserted by Maryland writers that the blood of the native chiefs is now represented by the Brents, Fenwicks, Goldsboroughs, and other distinguished families of the State.

The original chapel at St. Mary's, although the first city of Maryland remained a kind of scattered village, had by this time grown too small or otherwise unsuited to the wants of the Catholics of white and Indian origin who attended it. In 1683 steps were taken in the council of the colony to lay out a site for a new church, and cemetery. Unfortunately no plan of St. Mary's exists and apparently no data by which to form one now to show the site of the original chapel and the ground where the early settlers and Governor Leonard Calvert were laid.[2]

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[1] Chalmers, "Annals," p. 375; Scharf, i., p. 282–3. Yet the Privy Council thought some provision should be made, and in a few years this was most iniquitously carried out.

[2] Kilty, "Land-Holders' Assistant," p. 123. Lord Baltimore in council ordered land to be laid out there for "the chappel, state house, and burying place." The Annual Letter, 1696, says of St. Mary's, that "with the residence of the illustrious Lord Baltimore surrounded by six other houses, it bore some semblance to a village." Foley, "Records," vii., p. clix. "But it can hardly be called a town, it being in length by the water about five miles, and in breadth upwards, toward the land, not above a

The grant by Charles II. of territory in America under which his brother James, Duke of York, put an end to the Dutch rule in New Netherland, brought the whole coast from the borders of Connecticut to the Potomac, under the control of Catholic proprietors, who would naturally favor the immigration and freedom of their fellow-believers. The district acquired by James was one, however, in which Catholics had always been few and rarely permanent residents. Two Portuguese soldiers at Fort Orange in 1626; a Portuguese woman, and a transient Irishman met by Father Isaac Jogues, in 1643, are the earliest on record.[1]

Yet soon after Lord Baltimore applied for his Maryland charter, another Catholic gentleman, Sir Edmund Plowden, a descendant of the famous lawyer of that name, solicited for himself and some associates a patent for lands on the Hudson and Delaware, including what is now known as New Jersey and Long Island. A charter was granted by writ of Privy Seal, witnessed by the Deputy General of Ireland, at Dublin, June 21, 1634, by which a county palatine was erected under the name of New Albion. Captain Thomas Yong, a correspondent of the famous priest Sir Toby Mathews, under this erected a fort or trading house at Eriwomeck on the Jersey side of the Delaware about 1634 and resided there some years. Plowden himself came over in 1642 and nearly lost his life by a mutiny of his crew, who set him ashore on a desert island two years afterwards. Some of the English settlers recognized his authority, but the Swedes stubbornly refused to al-

mile, in all which space, excepting only my own home and buildings wherein the said courts and public offices are kept, there are not above thirty houses, and those at considerable distance from each other, and the buildings . . . . very mean and little." Lord Baltimore, in Scharf, i., p. 294.

[1] Brodhead, "History of New York," i., p. 169; Martin, "Life of Father Isaac Jogues," p. 154.

low him even to trade on the Delaware. His plans of settlement proposed a recognition of Christianity and beyond that the most complete toleration for all. That his object may have been to secure a refuge for oppressed Catholics is very probable, but nothing that can be deemed a Catholic settlement was founded by him, nor is there any trace of any visit to New Albion by any Catholic priest, or the erection of a chapel.[1]

The grant to James, Duke of York, was followed by the establishment of English authority and the opening of the country to English colonization. James subsequently ceded part of his territory under the name of New Jersey to a number of persons, prominent among whom was James, the Catholic Earl of Perth. There was no attempt to form any largely Catholic settlement at any point, though Catholics obtained positions under the new colonial governments and some came over to better their fortunes, and make homes for themselves in the New World.

In 1674, James sent out as second in authority to Governor Andros, and his successor in case of death, Lieutenant Anthony Brockholls. This gentleman was of a Catholic family in Lancashire, England, and would have been excluded from holding office in England by the Test Act recently passed in that country. "But as that statute did not extend to the British American Plantations, the Duke of York himself," says a New York historian, "a victim of Protestant intolerance, was able to illustrate his own idea of 'Freedom to worship God,' by appointing a member of the Church of Rome to be his second colonial officer in New York."

[1] In regard to New Albion and Plowden, see Rev. Dr. R. L. Burtsell, "A Missing Page of Catholic History," Catholic World, xxxii., p. 204; Gregory B. Keen, "Note on New Albion" in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," iii., p. 457.

Brockholls took an active part in the affairs of the colony, as commander-in-chief (1677–8, 1680–3) and member of the council till the power of William III. was established. He married in the colony and many of his descendants exist to this day.

Lieutenant Jervis Baxter, another Catholic, was a prominent, active, and able officer of the colony, in administrative posts and in the council chamber.

There is some ground for believing that there were several Catholics from the Netherlands at Albany in 1677, for whose spiritual consolation the Franciscan Father Hennepin was invited to settle at that place.[1] There were Catholics also in other parts, and there are indications that priests reached New York, either secular priests from England or Franciscans from Maryland.[2] Two Labbadists who visited New York and the neighboring provinces in 1679 with the view of selecting a spot for a colony of their sect, state that the Catholics believed them to be really priests, and were so persistent that they could not get rid of them or disabuse them. The poor Catholics, long deprived of mass and the sacraments, and evidently looking for promised priests, took these French sectaries to be really ministers of their faith, and wished them to say mass, hear their confessions, and baptize their children. Dankers and Sluyter mention expressly a family of French

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[1] Hennepin, "Nouvelle Decouverte," Utrecht, 1697, p. 29; Brodhead, "History of New York," ii., p. 307.

[2] Rev. Peter Smith, a Catholic priest, who is said to have been chaplain to Dongan, stated in an affidavit made in London in 1675, that he was in New York in 1665. Letter of Edward Antill to James Alexander, April 18, 1752. A baptism apparently by him is noted in 1685. Brodhead supposes one of the Jesuit Fathers to have been known as John Smith, but this is mere conjecture. "Father Smith," Dongan's chaplain, is alluded to in N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., pp. 613, 747; iv., p. 398; the name John Smith appears, ii., p. 17.

Catholics who kept a tavern at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and who treated them with every courtesy, convinced to the last that their guests were priests, afraid to avow their real character.[1]

There was one Catholic of note in New Jersey at this time who was active in all public affairs. This was William Douglas, who in 1680 was elected member of Assembly from Bergen. When that body convened in Elizabethtown in June, they promptly expelled Douglas, "the aforesaid member upon examination owning himself to be a Roman Catholick," and a warrant was issued to the town of Bergen for a new choice.[2]

Richard Towneley was apparently of the staunch Catholic family which endured such memorable sufferings for the faith, but there is no evidence of his fidelity.

In 1682, the Duke of York appointed as Governor of New York, Colonel Thomas Dongan, the younger son of an Irish Catholic baronet of great wealth and influence, who subsequently became Earl of Limerick. Colonel Dongan was a Catholic, a man of enlarged views and great energy; he had seen service in the French armies, and had been English Governor of Tangier.

One great object of James was to detach the Five Nations from the French, and keep that rival nation north of the great lakes. The influence of the French over the Indians had been acquired and retained in no small degree by the zealous labors of the missionaries, who at this time were drawing many converts from the Five Nations in New York to La Prairie in Canada, where a Catholic Indian village had

[1] Dankers and Sluyter, "Journal of a Voyage to New York," Brooklyn, 1867, p. 147.

[2] "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey," Newark, 1880, p. 312.

been formed. To counteract this it was evidently arranged at this time to establish a Jesuit mission in New York, the Fathers to form a Catholic village of Iroquois Indians under English influence. This plan was subsequently avowed and Saratoga mentioned as the site.[1]

One of the English Fathers selected for the New York mission, Father Thomas Harvey, embarked with Governor Dongan in the Constant Warwick, an old Parliamentarian frigate, and arriving at Nantasket in August, 1683, proceeded overland with the governor, and reached New York before the close of that month.[2]

There is very good ground for believing that Father Forster (Gulick), Superior of the Maryland Jesuits, was already in or near New York to receive the new member of his mission and arrange for future action. A baptism at Woodbridge, New Jersey, in June, 1683, seems evidently to have been performed by him, and his presence near New York would, under the circumstances, be perfectly natural.[3]

Father Warner, the English provincial, writing to the general of the society, February 26, 1683, says: "Father Thomas Hervey, the missioner, passes to New York by consent of the governor of the colony. In that colony is a respectable city, fit for the foundation of a college, if faculties are given, to which college those who are now scattered throughout Maryland may betake themselves and make excursions from thence into Maryland. The Duke of York,

[1] See Dongan's Report, N. Y. Colonial Doc., iii., p. 394.

[2] Brodhead, "History of New York," New York, 1871, pp. 374–5.

[3] Dollier de Casson, historian of Montreal, records, Aug. 20, 1700, the baptism in June, 1683, of Robert du Poitiers, born on Staten Island, "at Hotbridge, 3 leagues from Menate, by a Jesuit come from Mary-Land and named Master Juillet." The only name at all among the Fathers at the time approaching this is Gulick, also written Guilick. Foley, vii., p. 275.

the lord of that colony, greatly encourages the undertaking of a new mission. He did not consent to Father Thomas Hervey's sailing until he had advised with the provincial, the consultors and other grave fathers."[1]

Father Henry Harrison and Father Charles Gage, with two lay brothers, soon joined Father Harvey in New York. Though of English family, Father Henry Harrison was born in the Netherlands, and was probably selected on that account, as being more likely to effect good among the Dutch.[2]

The Catholics had a small chapel in Fort James, which stood south of the Bowling Green, and this spot may be deemed the first where mass was regularly said in New York. Sixty pounds a year was paid, we are told, to "two Romish priests that attended on Governor Dongan." The establishment of a Latin school was one of the early good works of the Jesuit Fathers. It was held apparently on the king's farm, subsequently leased by Governor Fletcher to Trinity Church,[3] and was attended by the sons of Judges Palmer and Graham, Captain Tudor, and others,[4] the bell of the Dutch church in the fort being rung to summon the pupils.[5]

One of the first acts of the administration of the Catholic governor, Dongan, was the convening of the first legislative assembly in New York, which met on the 17th of October, 1683. In the Bill of Rights, passed on the 30th, the broad principle of religious freedom is recognized, as it was wherever Catholics had any influence. It declared that "no person or persons which profess faith in God by Jesus Christ

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[1] Foley, "Records of the English Province," vii., p. 343.

[2] Harrison seems to come in 1685 and Gage in 1686. Ib., pp. 335, 342.

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc. iv., p. 490.

[4] Leisler's correspondence in "Doc. History of N. Y.," ii., pp. 14, 147.

[5] Brodhead, ii., p. 487.

shall at any time be anyways molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any difference of opinion or matter of religious concernment, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of the province; but that all and every such person or persons may, from time to time and at all times, freely have and fully enjoy his or their judgments or consciences in matters of religion throughout all the province; they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others." The Christian churches in the province, and the Catholic was actually one, were to be "held and reputed as privileged churches, and enjoy all their former freedoms of their religion in divine worship and church discipline."

The New York Legislature thus carried out the liberal spirit of James' instructions to Andros in 1674, and subsequently to Dongan, who were to "permit all persons, of what religion soever, quietly to inhabit within their government, without giving them any disturbance or disquiet whatsoever for or by reason of their differing opinions in matters of religion, provided they give noe disturbance to the public peace, nor doe molest or disquiet others in the free exercise of their religion." [1]

It was doubtless the freedom thus guaranteed that led the Jesuit Fathers to build hopes of founding a permanent mission in New York, with an increasing flock of Catholics. The arrival of Fathers Harrison and Gage enabled them to visit scattered Catholics and prepare for the promising future.

While Catholicity was thus endeavoring to gain a foothold on the banks of the Hudson, a new field was opened to it. Charles II., to cancel a debt of the Crown to Admiral Penn,

[1] Brodhead, "History of New York," ii., p. 454 : 3 Ib., p. 487.

granted to the Admiral's son, on the 4th of March, 1681, a territory in America, extending five degrees westward from the Delaware River, with a breadth of three degrees. This became the Province of Pennsylvania. Penn, from a foppish young courtier had become a zealous member of the Society of Friends, and though he had written a most impassioned book against the Catholic religion, enjoyed the friendship of the Duke of York, and was fully in accord with the principles of religious liberty which James had so much at heart. These views Penn carried out in the province granted to him. Dutch Calvinists and Swedish Lutherans were already there, and Catholics had made an attempt at colonization. Now it was to receive a large body of emigrants, chiefly followers, like Penn, of George Fox. In the thirty-fifth clause of the laws agreed upon in England by William Penn, it was provided: "That all persons living in the province who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal God to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the World, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no way be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practise in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever."[1]

Penn exerted himself to obtain emigrants from Germany, and among the settlers who came out there may have been Catholics who sought homes in this and other colonies now thrown open to them. As there was constant intercourse between New York and Maryland, official and personal, the Maryland missionaries might easily visit the rising city of Philadelphia. The northern visit of Father Gulick was not,

[1] "The Frame of Government," 1682.

apparently, the only one; and there are indications that Pennsylvania was visited at an early day by some of the Franciscan Fathers.

After sending out Markham as his deputy, who bore letters from King Charles and from Penn to Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Pennsylvania himself landed at Newcastle in the latter part of October, 1682. That some Jesuit Father or other priest called upon him soon after is not unlikely, as such a visit would explain the report of his death, which was soon carried to England, with the assertion that he had died a Jesuit.[1]

In Virginia and the New England colonies there were at this time few, if any, resident Catholics, occasional transient cases comprising nearly all,[2] Dr. Le Baron, a shipwrecked physician, being, perhaps, one of the few who professed the true faith amid that spiritual darkness.

Such was the position of the Catholic Church in the English colonies when the weak Charles II. died, reconciled to

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[1] "I find some persons have had so little wisdom and so much malice as to report my death, and to mend the matter, dead a Jesuit too. . . . . I am still alive and no Jesuit."—Letter, Philadelphia, August 1683, p. 3. Ford, "A Vindication of William Penn, Proprietary of Pennsilvania," 1683, Penn. Mag. of Hist., vi., pp. 176–7, denies his being a Papist and keeping a Jesuit to write his books. A visit of a reputed priest to Penn when ill would easily give rise to such stories. Penn also justified himself against the charge of ill-treating a monk, Proud, "History of Pennsylvania," i., p. 317. Watson cited the allusion of Penn to an old priest, as showing the presence of a Catholic priest in the colony; but Westcott, in his "History of Philadelphia," showed that the reference was to the Swedish Lutheran minister. Catholic writers in Pennsylvania have failed to throw any new light on this early period. They copy Westcott now as they formerly copied Watson. I called the attention of Rev. A. A. Lambing's publishers to Mr. Westcott's work, and enabled him to avoid repeating Watson.

[2] See "Report of a French Protestant Refugee in Boston," 1687; Brooklyn, 1868, pp. 16, 30.

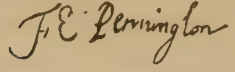
the Church, and his brother James, an avowed Catholic, ascended the throne in 1685.

One of the first beneficial results was the appointment of a Vicar-Apostolic for England. Dr. John Leyburn, a divine of great zeal and learning, President of Douay College and Vicar-General of Bishop Smith, was appointed by Pope Innocent XI. Bishop of Adrumetum and Vicar-Apostolic of all England. He was consecrated in Rome on September 9, 1685, and on reaching England was provided with apartments in Saint James' Palace. Three years subsequently his jurisdiction was restricted to the London district, three other bishops being appointed as Vicars-Apostolic of the Western, Midland, and Northern districts.[1] From the date of his appointment to the close of the American Revolution, the Catholics in the British colonies in America and their clergy were subject to Doctor Leyburn and his successors, Bishops Giffard, Petre, and the illustrious Doctor Challoner, with his coadjutor, Talbot. It was nearly sixty years since a Catholic bishop had appeared in England, and Bishop Leyburn was the first who for a hundred and thirty years had traveled unmolested through the island in the discharge of his episcopal functions. The Holy See in the time of Innocent XII. made the secular clergy, and all regulars, even Jesuits and Benedictines, subject to the Vicar-Apostolic in whose district they were, for approbation with regard to hearing confessions, for the cure of souls, and for all parochial offices.

During the closing years of the reign of Charles II., Father Michael Foster, the Jesuit Superior in Maryland, continued the old mission work. Yet he had only two, or at most three, Fathers with him, one being Father Francis Pennington, who

[1] Brady, "Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy in England and Scotland," Rome, 1877, p. 140, etc.

became superior on the death of Father Forster, and continued so for a considerable period, being for nearly five years the only priest of his order in Maryland.[1]



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF FATHER FRANCIS PENNINGTON.

Father Henry Carew was appointed President of the Franciscan Mission in 1677, and served in Maryland for six years, dying at sea on the voyage back to England.

From 1680 to 1684 Father Massey was again superior, and then disappears from Maryland, filling the position of Guardian at Gronow, and Douay, then of Vicar, Minister, and Commissary-General of the Province.

As Father Hobart died subsequently in Maryland, he apparently remained in the colony during this period, but some of the others may have returned. There were not more than six Franciscans at any time on the mission, and apparently generally only three or four priests of that order.[2]

It is not easy to comprehend why the Church did not at this time show more vitality in the old Catholic province; but the clergy were few in number, and the Society of Jesus thought of making New York the centre.

That religion was not more prosperous under a Catholic king and with a Catholic lord proprietor, residing for a time in the province of Maryland, seems strange indeed.

Among the interesting points connected with the history of Catholicity in this country during the reign of James, was

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[1] Father Francis Pennington expired at the house of Mr. Hill, Newtown, Md., February 22, 1699. F. Treacy's List, Woodstock Letters, xv., p. 92.

[2] "Ex-Registro FF.M., Prov. Angliæ," pp. 85, 88, 97, 108, 115, 134; Oliver, "Collections," p. 541. Father Hobart's death was reported at the Chapter held July 10, 1698.

the attempt of Captain George Brent to establish a Catholic settlement in Virginia. With Richard Foote, Robert Barstow, and Nicholas Hayward, of London, he purchased of Thomas Lord Culpeper thirty thousand acres of land between the Potomac and Rappahannock, and prepared to bring over settlers. They applied to the king for a guarantee of religious freedom, and James, by patent, dated February 10, 1687, granted "unto the petitioners, and all and every the inhabitants which now are or hereafter shall be settled in the said towne and the tract of land belonging to them, the free exercise of their religion, without being prosecuted or molested upon any penall laws or other account of the same."

The reign of James II. was too brief to produce any other permanent result for the Church in whose cause he had labored and suffered. The scheme of a grand union of all the American colonies into one government, with the broad charter of equal religious rights for all, which emanated from the able mind of James, was not to be carried out for a century, when the united colonies shook off the yoke of the Protestant sovereigns of England.

Plots were formed to overthrow James and call over the Prince of Orange. All was ready in the colonies to forward the movement. No sooner did tidings arrive of the landing of William than a rising took place in New England. In New York, the fanatical Leisler, full of declamation against Popery, seized the government. In Maryland, Coode, a minister, associated men as infamous as himself for the defence of the Protestant religion, and overthrew the proprietary government.

In New York, Colonel Thomas Dongan had recently ceased to be governor, but a Catholic priest still resided in the fort, under Nicholson, and probably fled with that officer. Dongan was hunted like a wolf. The Jesuits Harvey

and Harrison narrowly escaped Leisler's hands. The latter managed to secure a passage to Europe, was captured and robbed by Dutch pirates, but finally reached Ireland by way of France. Father Harvey, though forced to abandon his New York mission for a season, did not renounce all hope of continuing his labors there. He made his way on foot to Maryland, but succeeded in reaching New York again the next year in company with another Father, who did not, however, remain long to share his labors and perils. Father Harvey continued on the New York mission for some years, till health and strength gave way, when he sought Maryland, to die among his brethren.[1]

The fall of James, planned long before in a scheme for the establishment of the Church of England on a firmer basis than ever, was effected by inflaming the fanaticism of the old dissenting element which had overthrown Charles I., as it was now exerted to expel James. It was by no fortuitous accident that men like Leisler in New York, and Coode in Maryland, were allowed to rave like maniacs against Popery and seize the government of those provinces. Seeing nothing but visions of Papists around him, Leisler stimulated the Indians against the French, and congratulated them openly on the fearful scenes of massacre they perpetrated at Lachine. Coode urged William III. to redeem the people of Maryland "from the arbitrary will and pleasure of a tyrannical Popish government, under which they had so long groaned." William made both royal provinces, profiting by disorders that were doubtless planned in England. Lord Baltimore was deprived of all his rights as proprietary without any form of law, or even a formal accusation that he had forfeited his charter.

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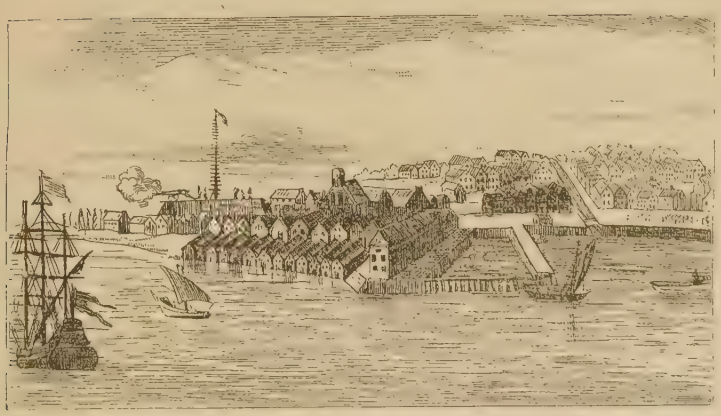
[1] Annual Letters, Foley, iii., pp. 394–5 ; vii., p. clix, p. 355, p. 343.

In both colonies steps were taken to establish the Church of England formally. In New York the bill of rights was abolished, all toleration or religious freedom was scouted, and Catholics were excluded from office and franchise and the career of penal laws began.

Penn, shrewd and cautious, avoided any outward show of his kindly feelings in the affairs of his province, although he boldly, in a tract published in England, urged the repeal of all penal laws against Catholics.

The year 1690 was an era when all hopes of the true faith on this coast seemed blasted, and the prospects of the Church in the English colonies gloomy beyond description.



FORT AT NEW YORK WHERE A CATHOLIC CHAPEL EXISTED UNDER JAMES II. FROM THE VIEW BY ALLARD, 1673.

# BOOK II.

## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE SPANISH COLONIES.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE CHURCH IN FLORIDA, 1513–1690.

Although Columbus himself in his first landfall had nearly reached the coast of the northern continent, he turned southward, and it was not till some years after his death that any European landed on our shores. Cabot, accompanied by a priest from Bristol, probably reached Newfoundland and Labrador, but it was not till 1513 that John Ponce de Leon, one of the early companions of Columbus, led by the Indian reports of a greater island of Bimini, sought of the Spanish monarch a patent authorizing him to discover and settle it. The document bore date February 23, 1512, but though countersigned by the Bishop of Palencia, no clause in the state paper required the establishment of churches for the settlers, or missions for the conversion of the Indians. Returning to Porto Rico, where he had been employed in the royal service, Ponce de Leon obtained a vessel to make the discoveries authorized by his patent within the year prescribed by its tenor. The authorities in Porto Rico, however, seized his vessel under the pretext that it was needed in the royal service, and it was not till March, 1513, that he bore away from the port of San German with three caravels, the experienced Anton de Alaminos, of Palos, being his pilot. After

threading the Bahamas he steered northwest, and on Easter Sunday, called in Spanish Pascua Florida, came in sight of the continent. Then running north till the 2d of April he landed, and prompted alike by its beauty, and by the remembrance of the day of its discovery, bestowed on the country the name Florida, which it retains to this day. Having taken possession in the name of the King of Spain, he followed the coast southerly till he reached the Martyrs and Tortugas, and, doubling the cape, entered a fine bay that long bore his name. Satisfied with his discovery he returned to Porto Rico, leaving to one of his vessels the search for Bimini.

For the land which he had thus discovered for Spain, he solicited a new patent, which was issued on the 27th of September, 1514. The former asiento for an island, whose existence was not ascertained, had authorized the usual enslavement of Indians. This unjust and cruel system had been introduced by Christopher Columbus, and was followed by all. In a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella the discoverer of the new world proposed sending slaves and Brazilwood to Spain. He actually dispatched five shiploads of unfortunate Indians to be sold there, but Isabella, shocked and indignant, caused the natives of America to be set free.[1] Las Casas declares that between 1494 and 1496 one third of the population of Hispaniola was swept off by this system. The Benedictine, Buil, delegate of the Holy See, the Franciscan, Francis Ruiz, afterward Bishop of Avila, and his companions, in vain endeavored to arrest the iniquity. But in the month of September, 1510, three Dominican

[1] Letter of Columbus to the sovereigns in Duro, "Colon y la Historia Póstuma," pp. 49–51. Columbus even ordered the ears and noses of Indian slaves to be cut off for slight faults. Navarrete, ii., p. 110; Las Casas, "Historia de Indias," Lib. 1, cap xciii., cvi.

Fathers, from the convent of San Estévan, in Salamanca, landed in Hispaniola. With the superior, Father Peter de Cordoba, came Father Anthony de Montesinos, a great lover of strict observance, a great religious and great preacher. When they had taken time to study the condition of affairs, Father Montesinos, in 1511, ascended the pulpit of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, and in a sermon full of eloquence, denounced the enslavement and cruel treatment of the Indians as sinful and wicked, sure to draw down God's anger on them all. The bold denunciation of the great Dominican fell like a thunder-clap on the Admiral, Diego Columbus, on the officials and the Spaniards at large. They called upon his superior to censure him, but Father Peter de Cordoba replied that Father Anthony's sermon was sound, and was sustained by his brethren. Then the Dominicans were denounced to the king and his council for condemning what the Spanish monarchs had approved. Censured on the facts as presented, Father Montesinos and his superior were cited to Spain in 1512, but there they pleaded the cause of the Indian so eloquently and so ably that they returned the next year, having won a great triumph in inducing the king to take some steps to save the natives.[1]

The influence of the action of Father Montesinos, the first to denounce human slavery in America, can be seen in the second patent to John Ponce de Leon. This requires that the natives must be summoned to submit to the Catholic faith and the authority of the King of Spain, and they were not to be attacked or captured if they submitted.[2] Years

[1] Juan Melendez, "Tesoros Verdaderos de las Yndias," Rome, 1681, pp. 10–14, citing Las Casas, "Historia Apologetica," Lib. 1, cap. ccxlv. Herrera, Dec. 1, Lib. viii., cxi., xii. See Helps, "Spanish Conquest in America," Bk. iv., ch. ii., which is devoted entirely to this affair; also book viii., ch. i., Cardinal Hefele, "Life of Cardinal Ximenes," pp. 503–4.

[2] "Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos," xxii., pp. 33–8.

rolled by, however, before Ponce de Leon, employed by the king in the wars with the Caribs, could sail to settle in Florida. At last, in 1521, he completed his preparations, and his project shows the influence of the religious thought that was to control the settlement of Florida. Writing on the 10th of February to Charles V., Ponce says: "I return to that island, if it please God's will to settle it, being enabled to carry a number of people with whom I shall be able to do so, that the name of Christ may be praised there, and your Majesty served with the fruit that land produces." And a letter to the Cardinal of Tortosa, afterwards Pope Adrian VI., breathes the same spirit. Ponce de Leon sailed with two vessels carrying settlers with live stock and all requisites for a permanent establishment, and bore with him priests to minister to his people, and friars, in all probability, of the order of St. Dominic, to convert the Indians. He reached land, and began to erect dwellings for his people, though, unfortunately, we cannot fix the time or place, but facts lead to the inference that it was on the bay which he discovered on his first voyage. If this conjecture can be received, the altar reared by the priests and friars of this expedition must have been on the western shore of Florida, near Charlotte Harbor. The Spanish settlers while rearing house and chapel were, however, constantly attacked by the Indians, and at last Ponce de Leon, while bravely leading a charge to repulse them, received a severe and dangerous wound, the stone head of the arrow defying all the skill of a surgeon to extract it. Then the projected settlement was abandoned; priests and people re-embarked; the temporary homes and chapel were abandoned. One vessel, with the stricken commander, reached the neighboring island of Cuba; the other was driven to the coast of Mexico, where Cortes, in his need,

appropriated the stores.[1] The first offering of the Holy Sacrifice in this country, the initial point in the history of the Church, is thus unfortunately very vague, for we know not yet the time or place and have no clue to the name of any of the secular or regular priests.

Before this disastrous effort at colonization by John Ponce, another point on the coast north of the limits of his exploration had been reached by two vessels from Santo Domingo. Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, one of the judges of that island, though in the enjoyment of an honorable office, great wealth, and a happy home, aspired to the glory of discovering and colonizing some land hitherto unknown. Having solicited the necessary permission, he despatched a caravel commanded by Francisco Gordillo, in 1520, to explore north of the limits of Ponce de Leon. While this vessel was running amid the Bahamas it came in sight of another caravel, which proved to have been sent out by Matienzo, also a judge in Santo Domingo. Its object was not exploration, but to carry back a cargo of Indian slaves. The captains of the two vessels agreed to sail in company, and holding on their course, in eight or nine days reached the coast near the mouth of a great river, on the 25th of June, 1521, and, adopting a custom constantly followed by the Catholic navigators of those days, named river and land St. John the Baptist, the day being the feast of the precursor of our Lord.

Ayllon had instructed the captain of his caravel to cultivate a friendly intercourse with the natives, and to avoid all hostilities; but Gordillo, influenced by Quexos, commander of Matienzo's vessel, joined him in seizing a number of Indians, and sailed off with them. Ayllon, on the arrival of

[1] Oviedo, "Historia General y Natural de las Indias," iii., p. 622. Herrera, "Decade," iii.; Lib. ii., f. 43. Valadares, "Historia de Puerto Rico," Madrid, p. 97. Torquemada, "Monarquia Indiana," i., p. 561.

the vessels, condemned Gordillo; he brought the matter before the Admiral Diego Columbus; the Indians were declared free; but, though Ayllon released those brought on his vessel, Matienzo evaded the decision of the council and subsequent orders of the king. It is a strange fact that the history of this country, as written hitherto, represents the upright Ayllon, whose whole Indian policy was Christian and humane, as a man guilty of the greatest cruelty to the natives, while Matienzo, the real culprit, is ignored.

Taking one of these Indians from our shores, whom he had placed under instruction, and who received in baptism the name of Francisco, Ayllon sailed to Spain to present to the king a report of the discovered territory, and obtain a cedula or patent for its occupation and settlement. Francisco gave wonderful accounts of the land, and Ayllon, on the 12th of June, 1523, received a patent, requiring him to explore the coast for eight hundred leagues, and form a settlement within three years.

The patent shows the Christian obligation imposed on the adelantado. He was "to attract the natives to receive preachers who would inform and instruct them in the affairs of our holy Catholic faith, that they might become Christians." The document also says: "And whereas our principal intent in the discovery of new lands is that the inhabitants and natives thereof, who are without the light or knowledge of faith, may be brought to understand the truths of our holy Catholic faith, that they may come to a knowledge thereof and become Christians and be saved, and this is the chief motive that you are to bear and hold in this affair, and to this end it is proper that religious persons should accompany you, by these presents I empower you to carry to the said land the religious whom you may judge necessary, and the vestments and other things needful for

the observance of divine worship; and I command that whatever you shall thus expend in transporting the said religious, as well as in maintaining them and giving them what is needful, and in their support, and for the vestments and other articles required for the divine worship, shall be paid entirely from the rents and profits which in any manner shall belong to us in the said land." [1]

Thus, in 1523, did the King of Spain assume the charge of maintaining divine worship on our coast.

Various circumstances, and especially a vexatious lawsuit instituted by Matienzo, prevented Ayllon from attempting the colonization of the land of Saint John the Baptist, but in 1525 he sent Pedro de Quexos with two caravels to explore. That navigator ran along the coast for seven hundred miles, setting up stone crosses with the name of Charles V. and the date of taking possession.

Early in June of the following year Ayllon completed the preparations for colonizing his grant, and sailed from Puerto de la Plata with three large vessels, carrying six hundred persons of both sexes, with abundant supplies and horses. The Dominican Fathers Anthony de Montesinos and Anthony de Cervantes, with Brother Peter de Estrada, accompanied the colonists. The vessels reached the coast north of the river Saint John, probably near the mouth of the Wateree, but one vessel was soon lost. Ayllon at once set to work to replace it, and finding the coast unsuited for settlement, sailed northward till he reached the Chesapeake. Entering the capes he ascended a river, and began the establishment of his colony at Guandape, giving it the name of St. Michael, the spot being, by the testimony of Ecija, the

[1] "Real Cédula que contiene el asiento capitulado con Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon" in Navarrete, "Coleccion de Viages y Descubrimientos," Madrid, 1829, ii., pp. 153, 156.

pilot-in-chief of Florida, that where the English subsequently founded Jamestown. Houses were erected, and the holy sacrifice was offered in a temporary chapel by the zealous priests. Sickness soon showed itself, and Ayllon, sinking under a pestilential fever, died in the arms of the Dominican priests on St. Luke's day, October 18, 1526. Winter set in early, and the cold was intense. Francis Gomez, who succeeded to the command, could not control the people. His authority was usurped by mutineers, who provoked the negro slaves to revolt and the Indians to hostility. It was at last resolved to abandon the country, and in the spring Gomez, taking the body of Ayllon, set sail for Santo Domingo, but the vessel containing the remains foundered, and only one hundred and fifty of the whole party reached Hispaniola.[1]

[1] For Ayllon the authentic documents are the Cédula of 1523 and the proceedings in the lawsuit brought by Matienzo, where the testimony of Quexos, Aldana, and others who were on the first voyage, is given, and the Act of taking possession. Father Cervantes survived Father Montesinos, and in 1561 gave testimony in regard to the settlement on the James. Many facts relating to Father Montesinos are given in Fernandez, "Historia Eclesiastica de Nuestros Tiempos," Toledo, 1611, p. 24; Melendez, "Tesoros Verdaderos de las Yndias en la Historia de la gran provincia de San Ivan Bavtista del Perv," Rome, 1681, pp. 10–15; Charlevoix, "Histoire de Saint Domingue," i., p. 233; Touron, "Histoire de l'Amérique," i., pp. 213, 240–8, 253–5, 321; Valladares, "Historia de Puerto Rico," Madrid, 1788, p. 102. According to Helps, "Spanish Conquest of America," he went subsequently to Venezuela, and opposite his name on the list preserved in his convent at Salamanca are the words "Obiit martyr." Navarrete, iii., pp. 72–3, correctly states that Ayllon sailed north; and the Relacion of Ecija, Piloto mayor of Florida, who was sent, in 1609, to discover what the English were doing, gives places and distances along the coast with great accuracy, and states that the English had settled at Guandape, the distance to which he gives. Writing only eighty-three years after Ayllon's voyage, and by his office being in possession of Spanish charts and derroteros of the coast, his statement is conclusive. The Father General of the Order of St. Dominic, Very Rev. F. Larroca, had search made for documents as to the great priest Montesinos, but none were traced. The stone found at Pompey, N. Y., may be a relic of Ayllon. See H. A. Homes' paper on it.

The second altar of Catholic worship on our soil was thus abandoned like the first; but its memory is linked with that of the illustrious missionary Montesinos, whose evangelical labors in Puerto Rico had won him the title of apostle of that island.

Meanwhile the gulf shore had been visited and explored by expeditions sent out from Jamaica by Francis de Garay, governor of that island. By one of these the Mississippi was discovered, and received the name of Espiritu Santo; but the only settlements attempted by Garay were south of the Rio Grande. In 1527, Panfilo de Narvaez, wishing to rival Cortes, obtained a patent for the territory explored by Garay, and projected a settlement at Rio de Palmas. He sailed from Spain on the 17th of June with five vessels, carrying six hundred persons, to settle and reduce the country. Several secular priests[1] accompanied the expedition, and five Franciscan friars, the superior or commissary being Father John Xuarez, who, with one of his companions, Brother John de Palos, belonged to the original band of twelve who founded the mission of their order in Mexico. While endeavoring to enter the harbor of Havana, Narvaez's fleet was driven on the coast of Florida, near Apalache Bay. Supposing that he was near his destination, Rio de Palmas, he landed most of his people, directing the ships to keep along the coast; but so unwise were all his arrangements that his ships and his people never were able to find each other again. After undergoing many sufferings and finding the country sterile and destitute of wealth or resources, Narvaez returned to the gulf, and built five large boats, in which he hoped to coast along till he found some Spanish settlement. Each boat carried nearly fifty men, and in one of them the com-

[1] El Asturiano is the only one named.

FRAY JUAN XUAREZ.

*From the Original Portrait in the Convent of Huejotzingo.*

missary, Father Xuarez, and his companions embarked in September, 1528. The whole party followed the shore, in great suffering for food and water, rarely able to obtain either from the Indians. About the first of November they reached a point where the Mississippi sent out its strong current, freshening the sea-water so that they could drink it; but their clumsy boats, managed by unskilful men, could not cross the mouth of the great river safely. The boat with Narvaez perished; that in which the missionaries were was found afterwards on the shore, bottom upward. No trace of the Fathers was ever discovered. Some of the boats were driven on the land, and a number of Spaniards reached land safely, among them the priest Asturiano. But he must have died before these wretched survivors endeavored, by rafts and otherwise, to work their way along the coast. Of the whole array of Panfilo de Narvaez, only four persons, Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Castillo, and Stephen, a negro, after years of suffering and wandering, reached Petatlan, in Sinaloa, April 1, 1536.[1]

This expedition aimed at a point beyond the limits of our Republic, and was only by accident on our shores. In the vague narrative of Cabeza de Vaca, there is no mention of the celebration of the holy sacrifice by the priests after they landed, nor of any labors such as we may infer they undertook to solace their comrades in life and death. It is rather from their sufferings that this little band of clergymen find a place in the history of the Church in this country, while the merit of Father Xuarez and his humble companion, Brother John de Palos, have entitled them to an honorable place in the annals of their order.

[1] For this expedition the leading authority is "La relacion que dio Aluar nuñez cabeca de vaca," Zamora, 1542; reprinted, 1550; translated by Buckingham Smith, Washington, 1851; New York, 1871.

Father John Xuarez was the fourth of the band of twelve Franciscans sent to Mexico. He belonged to the province of St. Gabriel, and came to America, in 1523, with Father Martin de Valencia, and was immediately made guardian of the convent established at Huexotzinco, where he was long remembered by the Indians as a holy religious. Brother John de Palos came from the convent of St. Francis, in Seville, and showed great zeal in acquiring the Mexican language, so that he was able to instruct the Indians in their own tongue.[1]

The expedition of Panfilo de Narvaez would scarcely have found a place in the civil or ecclesiastical history of America had it not inspired expeditions from the Atlantic and from the Pacific coast, which reached the very heart of the continent, and one of which led to subsequent settlement and to mission work.

Impelled by the accounts which Cabeza de Vaca spread through Spain, and apparently by the air of mystery assumed by that officer as to realms of which he heard, Hernando de Soto, a gentleman of Xerez, who, even in days of cruelty, was esteemed cruel in his career at Nicaragua, Darien, and Peru, obtained a grant of the lands previously embraced in

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[1] Torquemada, "Monarquia Indiana," iii., pp. 437, 447. Their portraits were engraved by Mr. Smith from the originals preserved in the convent of Tlatelalco, and we give that of Father Xuarez.

"Relacion of Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de vaca," New York, 1871, pp. 99, 100. Barcia, in his "Ensayo Cronologico," speaks of Father Xuarez as Bishop, but neither Cabeza de Vaca nor Torquemada evidently knew anything of his elevation to the episcopate, and the portrait is absolutely without anything indicative of his being a bishop. There is no trace of the erection of any see or diocese of Rio de Palmas; his name occurs in no work giving the list of bishops in Spanish America, when even his nomination by the king would have entitled him to wear outward marks of the episcopal character. Aleman, "Hist. de Mexico," i., p. 37. We must therefore regard this statement of Barcia as utterly unfounded.

the concessions to Narvaez and Ayllon. His project created the greatest enthusiasm in Spain; men sold their estates and offices to join the expedition of Soto, elated at being admitted to share its dangers.

The king made it one of the conditions of his grant to Soto that he should carry and have with him "the religious and priests who shall be appointed by us, for the instruction of the natives of that province in our holy Catholic faith, to whom you are to give and pay the passage, stores, and the other necessary subsistence for them according to their condition, all at your cost, receiving nothing from them during the said entire voyage, with which matter we gravely charge you that you do and comply, as a thing for the service of God and our own, and anything otherwise we shall deem contrary to our service."

The expedition set sail from Spain April 6, 1538, exceeding in numbers and equipment anything yet seen for the conquest of the Indies. It was made up of men of high rank and blood, full of ambition, and attired in all the gay trappings of fashion, as though it were a party of pleasure rather than a dangerous expedition into an unknown land.

The religious influence manifested throughout seems to have been very slight. Twelve priests, eight ecclesiastics and four religious, are said to have accompanied the expedition, consisting of nearly a thousand men; but the names of none of them are given in the narratives of Soto's wanderings, except that of Father John de Gallegos.

No mention is made of the celebration of any Sunday or holiday by any special service, but the holy sacrifice was apparently offered when they encamped, until in the terrible battle of Mauila, vestments, church plate, wheat, flour, and bread irons were consumed in the general conflagration, October, 1540. After that, according to Garcilaso de la Vega,

mass prayers were said before a temporary altar by a priest in vestments of dressed skins.

Most of the priests and religious perished in the long and straggling march of the force from Tampa Bay to Pensacola, then to the Savannah and the land of the Cherokees, thence to Mobile, whence Soto struck to the northwest, crossing the Mississippi at the lower Chickasaw Bluffs, and penetrating to the bison range south of the Missouri; then pushing down the western valley of the Mississippi, till death ended all his projects and disappointments, May 21, 1542. When his successor, Muscoso, reached the settled parts of Mexico with the few survivors of the brilliant array that had left Spain so full of delusive hopes, three friars and one French priest alone survived of the clergymen. Once only in the narratives do the clergy appear in any scene of interest. This was in the town of Casqui, on the western bank of the Mississippi, soon after Soto crossed it. The Indians came to the Spaniards as superior beings, worshipping a more powerful God, and besought their mediation to avert the long drought and cure their blind. The Spanish commander said they were but sinful men, yet they would pray to the Almighty for them, and he ordered a huge pine tree to be felled and a cross made and reared. Then the whole force, except a small band left as a guard, formed a procession, and, led by the priests and religious, moved on toward the cross, chanting litanies, to which the soldiers responded. On reaching the cross all knelt, prayers were recited, and each kissed the symbol of man's redemption. Many of the Indians joined in the procession, and imitated the actions of the Spaniards. When the devotions at the cross were concluded, the procession returned to the camp in the same order, chanting the Te Deum.[1]

[1] No religious chronicle gives details as to any of the priests or friars who accompanied Soto, and the pages of the "Gentleman of Elvas,"

Less brilliant in its inception, more fortunate in its close, was another expedition, also inspired by the accounts of Cabeza de Vaca. Its course was not marked by wanton cruelty or by retributive suffering. It was judiciously managed; the troops were well handled; it laid open provinces where settlements in time were formed. Above all, it claims our notice in this work because there was a religious influence throughout. Zeal for the salvation of the native tribes was manifest, and it resulted in a noble effort of Franciscan Fathers to plant a mission in the very heart of the American continent, a thousand miles from either ocean, the Mexican Gulf or Hudson Bay. This was the expedition directed by the wise and upright viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza. Purchasing the negro slave Stephen from Dorantes, a companion of Cabeza de Vaca, and setting free all Indians who had followed the four survivors, he sent Vasquez de Coronado as governor to Sinaloa, directing Father Mark, an illustrious Franciscan from Nice, in Italy, to penetrate into the interior, with Stephen as his guide, assuring all the native tribes he encountered that the viceroy had put an effectual stop to the enslavement of the Indians and sought only their good. "If God our Lord is pleased," says the viceroy in his instructions to Father Mark, "that you find any large town where it seems to you that there is a good opportunity for establishing a convent and sending religious to be employed in the conversion, you are to advise me by Indians or return in person to Culuacan. With all secrecy, you are to give notice, that provision be made without delay, because the service of our Lord and the

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Biedma, and Garcilaso de la Vega are barren of information as to anything ecclesiastical. The two former may be followed in Smith's "Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto in the Conquest of Florida," New York, 1866, the latter in Irving's "Conquest of Florida by Hernando de Soto," New York, 1851.

good of the people of the Land is the aim of the pacification of whatever is discovered."

The instructions were handed to the Franciscan Father in November, 1538, by Governor Coronado, and after an ineffectual attempt by way of the province of Topiza, as directed by the viceroy, he set out, March 7, 1539, from San Miguel de Culuacan with Father Honoratus,[1] Stephen and liberated Indians; but on reaching Petatlan his religious companion fell sick and was left to recruit. Then Father Mark journeyed on, keeping near the coast, meeting friendly tribes, who hailed him as a "Sayota," man from heaven. He heard of California and its people on the west, and of tribes at the north, dwelling in many large towns, who were clothed in cotton dresses and had vessels of gold. He spent Holy Week at Vacapa[2] and sent Stephen northward, with instructions that if he found any important place he was to send back a cross by the Indians, its size to be in proportion to the greatness of the town he might discover. In a few days messengers came from Stephen, announcing that thirty days' march beyond the point he had reached was a province, called Cibola, in which were seven great cities under one lord. The houses were of stone, three and four stories in height; that the people were well clothed and rich in turquoises. After waiting for the return of his Indian messengers and receiving confirmation of the story of the seven cities, he left Vacapa on Easter Tuesday, urged by fresh messengers from Stephen to come on with all speed. On the way he met Indians who had visited Cibola, the first of the seven cities, and had ob-

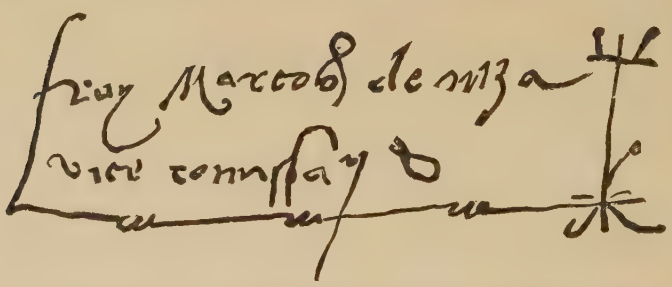
[1] Castañeda de Najera, whoever he was, writing twenty years after Coronado's expedition, gives Father Mark two other friars, in direct contradiction of F. Mark's contemporaneous account. Ternaux Compans' edition, p. 10.

[2] Now San Luis de Bacapa, in Sonora.

tained buffalo hides and turquoises there. These turquoises were greatly prized in Mexico, where the Aztecs, who called them chalchihuitl, used them both as jewelry and as money.

SEAL OF FATHER MARK OF NICE.

As Father Mark proceeded, he received confirmation of the intelligence from the Indians, who assured him that in Totonteac, a province near Cibola, the men wore woollen goods like his habit. He told them that they must mean cotton, but they assured him that they knew the difference; that it was woven from the wool of an animal. They explained to him, also, how the people in the towns reached the top of their houses by means of ladders. Passing another desert, he traversed a delightful valley,[1] still encouraged by tidings from Stephen, and came to a desert which was fifteen days' march from Cibola. Accompanied by many Indians, he



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER MARK OF NICE.

began to cross this desert on the 9th of May and travelled on till the 21st, when a messenger came, in terror and spent

[1] Whipple regards it as the valley of the Gila.

with fatigue, bearing a tale of disaster. Stephen, when within a day's march of Cibola, had sent the chief some tokens of his coming, but the Indians refused to receive them, and threatened to kill him if he came. Stephen persisted and reached Cibola. He was not allowed to enter, but was placed in a house without the town and stripped of all the goods he carried. The next day he and his companions were attacked by the natives, and the messenger alone escaped to carry back the sad tidings. Though his life was in peril from his Indian attendants, who held him responsible for the death of their countrymen in Stephen's party, Father Mark resolved to push on, at least to see the town, hoping to rescue any survivors. He declared that he came in sight of Cibola and planted a cross, to take possession of the country. He then returned and made a report of the expedition to the viceroy, who transmitted it to the king.[1]

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[1] We follow Father Mark's "Relation." Castañeda de Najera is not an eye-witness, and wrote more than twenty years afterwards. He must have written from vague recollections of what he had heard; and in regard to what he saw on Coronado's expedition, he shows great hostility to the commander, throwing doubts on his impartiality. Father Mark was a native of Nice, then a city of Savoy, now of France. He arrived in St. Domingo in 1531, and after visiting Peru went to Mexico, where he became the third Provincial of his order. He set out with Coronado after his return from his first expedition, but returned, having contracted a disease from which he never recovered. He died in the convent of his order in the City of Mexico. Torquemada, iii., pp. 358, 373, 499, 610. It has been usual to assail this Franciscan in terms of coarse vituperation, but the early translations of his narrative contained exaggerations and interpolations not found in his Spanish text. This is admitted. Haynes, in "Winsor's Narrative and Critical History," ii., p. 499; Coronado, Letter to Emperor, Aug. 3, 1540; Ramuzio, iii., p. 360; Oct. 20, 1541, Ternaux, "Castañeda," p. 362. Castañeda, "Relation," p. 48, originated the charges against him. Haynes follows his real narrative and does not note a single statement as false or bring any evidence to show any assertion untrue. That the Navajoes wove woollen goods and other tribes cotton; that turquoises were mined in New Mexico; that the Pueblo Indians en-

Father Mark thus stands in history as the earliest of the priestly explorers who, unarmed and afoot, penetrated into the heart of the country, in advance of all Europeans—a barefooted friar effecting more, as Viceroy Mendoza wrote, than well-armed parties of Spaniards had been able to accomplish. The point reached by Father Mark was certainly one of the towns of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona, whose remarkable dwellings and progress in civilization he was the first to make known.

Encouraged by the report of the Franciscan explorer, the viceroy ordered Francis Vasquez de Coronado to advance into the country with a considerable force. The army of occupation formed at Culiacan, and Coronado, on the 22d of April, 1540, took the advance with a detachment, accompanied by the missionaries, Fathers Mark of Nice, John de Padilla, Daniel and Louis, with the lay brothers Luis de Escalona and John of the Cross.[1] Father Anthony Victoria, another missionary, broke his leg a few days afterwards, and was sent back to the main army. Taking the route by way of Chichilticale, known later as the Casas Grandes, in Arizona, Coronado, crossing a desert and the Gila, reached Cibola, twenty miles from its banks. It was a town, with houses three or four stories high, built on a rock, and contained two hundred warriors, some of whom sallied forth to check the invaders. Coronado sent forward Garci Lopez, with Fathers Daniel and Louis, to explain his friendly intent, but the Indians replied with a shower of arrows, one piercing the habit of Father Daniel. Though they fled from a charge, the Indians defended the town bravely, but it was taken by storm, and the rest of the seven towns submitted.

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tered their houses by a door in the roof, reached by ladders, might appear at the time false statements, but are all now admitted to be true.

[1] Some make these the secular and religious names of one brother.

Coronado dispatched an officer to Mexico to give an account of his operations, and Father Mark returned with him, Coronado and many of his followers holding him responsible for the exaggerations of the Indian accounts.

While one detachment, attended by the fearless Father Padilla, visited Tusayan,[1] a district of seven towns like Cibola, and another subsequently reached the wonderful cañon of the Colorado, the main body of the expedition came up from Sonora and the whole force united at Cibola. Coronado then, in person or by his officers, reduced Acuco or Acoma, Tiguex, Cicuye or Old Pecos, the central town of the district, Yuquayunque and Jemez. None of these towns gave indication of any rich mines, and the country did not encourage the Spaniards to attempt a permanent settlement. The troops were scattered and lived on the natives, whom their oppression forced into hostilities. No record remains of the services of the Franciscan Fathers during this period, but when, in April, 1541, Coronado set out for the Province of Quivira, of whose wealth a treacherous Indian guide told the greatest marvels, we find Father John de Padilla in the detachment. The missionary thus crossed the bison plains, meeting only Querecho Indians, who lived in tents of bison skins and moved from place to place, with their trains of dogs. Marching to the northeast, Coronado, sending back part of his force, at the end of sixty-seven days arrived on the banks of a great river, to which he gave the name of St. Peter and St. Paul, as they reached it on the feast of the Holy Apostles. Quivira, as he found it, yielded nothing to repay his long march. No gold was to be seen, and the people were less advanced than those of New Mexico, though they cultivated Indian corn. He could not have been far from

[1] Bandelier regards this as the district of the Moqui towns.

the Missouri River, for an Indian woman, held as a slave, escaping from Coronado's party, fell into the hands of the survivors of DeSoto's expedition and was taken to Mexico.[1] After erecting a cross bearing the inscription, "Francis Vasquez de Coronado, general of an expedition, reached this spot," the Spanish commander returned to Tiguex. Another winter spent in New Mexico without any further discoveries brought him to the resolution to abandon the country.

Spaniards had thus occupied New Mexico for two years, but there is not the slightest hint that they anywhere erected the most perishable form of chapel; yet we can scarcely conceive it possible that Coronado's camp was planted so long without some action to erect a place for divine worship. The expedition was judiciously conducted, their live stock was abundant, and the men did not suffer from want or hardship. A settlement might easily have been formed, but no steps were taken to establish one, and when Coronado evacuated New Mexico, the little missionary party who so bravely remained were the only representatives of civilization and Christianity.

The temporary chapel at Tiguex, probably not far from the modern Bernalillo, was the first chapel of New Mexico, where during the two years' occupation mass was regularly offered, and the gospel preached with zeal and fervor by the sons of St. Francis, Father Padilla effecting great good among the soldiers by his ministry, as Torquemada declares.[2]

Father Padilla and the lay brother, Luis de Escalona, resolved to remain, for the purpose of establishing a mission, the former having been impressed especially with the dispositions manifested by the people of Quivira. Coronado, when

[1] Castañeda, "Relation du Voyage de Cibola," p. 135.

[2] "Monarquia Indiana," iii., p. 610. Bandelier, "Historical Introduction," p. 182.

about to leave New Mexico in April, 1542, gave the missionary as guides the Quivira Indians, who had accompanied him from their country; Andrew del Campo, a Portuguese, a negro, and two Zapoteca Indians of Michoacan, Luke and Sebastian, also joined him. The little missionary party, for the negro and the last named Indians had received the habit of the order,[1] had a horse, some mules, and a little flock of sheep. The missionary took his vestments and chapel outfit and some trifles to give the Indians.[2] He set forth his design in a Lenten sermon preached to the Spanish force at Tiguex, and departed soon after for the scene of his projected mission. Brother Luis, who is represented by writers on the expedition as a very holy man, determined to take up his residence at Cicuyé, hoping to set up the cross in all the neighboring villages, instruct the people in the faith, and baptize dying children.

Father Padilla seems to have reached Quivira, but wishing to visit a neighboring tribe he set out for them, and was attacked by the wild savages of the plains. Seeing that escape was all but impossible, he thought only of his companions. He bid del Campo, who was mounted, gallop for life, and the young Indians to fly, as escape was possible for them. Then he knelt down, and in prayer awaited the will of the Indians, commending his soul to God. A shower of arrows pierced him through, and the first martyr that the Church can claim on our soil fell in the very heart of the northern continent. Campo did not wait to see what fate

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[1] Apparently as members of the Third Order, for Torquemada states expressly that they were not lay brothers, but men who devoted themselves to the mission. (Donados; in French, donnés.) "Monarquia Ind.," iii., p. 611.

[2] Jaramillo, "Relacion," in Smith's Coleccion, p. 154; in Ternaux Compans, pp. 380–1, 214, 194.

befel the missionary; urging his horse to its utmost he distanced his pursuers, and in time was safe among the Spanish residents of Panuco. Not so Luke and Sebastian; lurking amid the tall grass they waited till the murderous Indians had departed; then they retraced their steps, and raising the mangled remains committed them to the earth, amid their tears and prayers. Only then did they in earnest endeavor to reach the Spanish settlements. Traversing New Mexico they bore to Culuacan the tidings of the glorious death of Father John de Padilla.

Nothing definite was ever learned of the fate of Brother John of the Cross (Luis de Escalona). When Coronado was setting out he sent the pious Brother a little flock of sheep. The messengers found him near Cicuyé, starting for some villages fifteen or twenty leagues distant. He was full of hope, but avowed that the old Indians regarded him with no favor, and would ultimately kill him.

Father Padilla is properly the protomartyr of the missions in this country. Other priests had died by disease, hardship, or savage cruelty, but they were attached to Spanish expeditions, and had not begun any special labors for the conversion of the native tribes, as this worthy Father and his companions had done.[1]

The ministers of the Catholic faith had thus, before the

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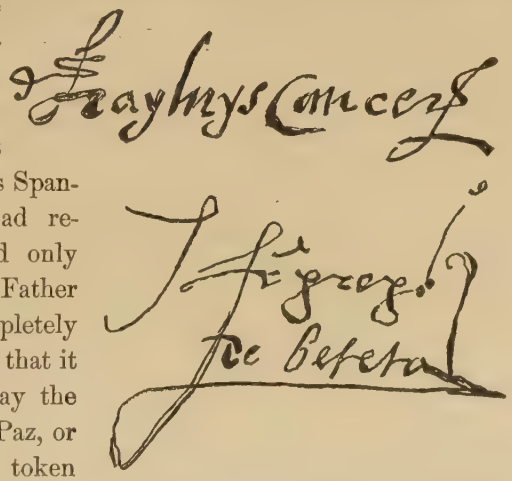
[1] Castañeda de Najera (Ternaux), pp. 214–5; "Relacion del Suceso" (Smith's Coleccion, p. 154); Jaramillo, "Relacion" (Ib., p. 162); Torquemada, "Monarquia Indiana," i., p. 609; iii., pp. 610–1; Rapine, "Histoire Générale de l'Origine et Progrez des Recolets," Paris, 1631, pp. 331–4. Father John de Padilla was a native of Andalusia, and, after serving in the army, entered the Franciscan order in the Province of the Holy Gospel in Mexico. He was the first guardian of the convent of Tulantzinco, but yearning to devote himself to the Indian missions was sent as guardian to Tzopatlan, in Michoacan. He had accompanied Father Mark of Nice on some of his earlier explorations.

middle of the sixteenth century, carried the cross and announced Christianity from the banks of the Chesapeake to the cañons of the Colorado. Had the priests with Soto been able to say mass, the march of the Blessed Sacrament and of the Precious Blood across the continent would have been complete.

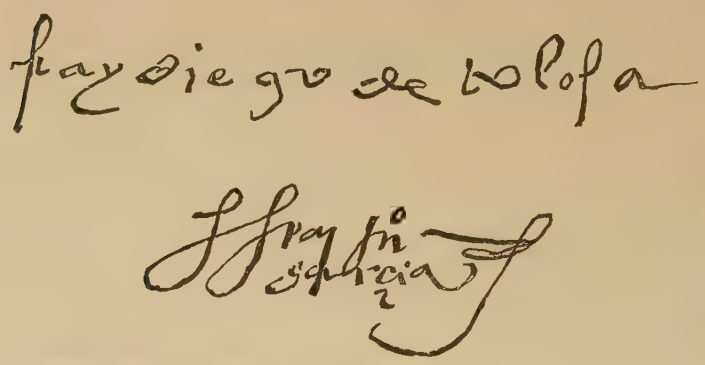
Soon afterwards a memorable and heroic attempt was made to plant Christianity among the natives of Florida. The Dominican Father, Louis Cancer, full of the spirit of Montesinos and Las Casas, had alone and unsupported conciliated the fierce tribes of a province of Central America, before whose conquest by force of arms Spanish prowess had recoiled. Armed only with his cross, Father Cancer so completely won the district that it bears to this day the name of Vera Paz, or True Peace, in token of his victory. In 1546 this courageous missionary conceived the project of endeavoring a similar peaceful and Christian conquest of the natives of Florida. His plans were ably seconded by Father Gregory de Beteta, and other prominent men of his order, and were in time laid before the Spanish king, who gave them his hearty approval.



AUTOGRAPHS OF FATHERS LOUIS CANCER AND GREGORY DE BETETA.

On this remarkable man the emperor Charles V. now cast his eyes. Four tyrants, he said, had entered Florida, effect-

ing no good, but causing much mischief, and now he would try religious. Father Cancer was formally appointed by the king and council to begin this pious conquest of Florida. Without deluding himself as to the dangers that awaited him, the devoted son of Saint Dominic accepted the perilous commission. By a royal decree, which proved, however, ineffectual, all natives of Florida, especially those brought away by Muscoso, were to be set free and sent back to their native country with Father Cancer. So many difficulties arose that most persons would have abandoned the project, but the earnest Dominican regarded the royal instructions as per-



AUTOGRAPHS OF FATHERS DIEGO DE TOLOSA AND JUAN GARCIA.

emptory, and persevered to the end. In 1549 he sailed from Vera Cruz in an unarmed vessel called the Santa Maria de la Encina. Fathers Gregory de Beteta, Diego de Tolosa, John Garcia, and some others accompanied him, all prepared to land in Florida, and attempt founding missions among the Indians without the attendance of Spanish soldiers to protect them from the bloodthirsty impulses of those whom they sought to serve. After touching at Havana, where they obtained as interpreter a converted Florida woman named Magdalena, the missionaries with their vessel ran across to

the peninsula, and on Ascension-day anchored on the western shore, near Tampa Bay. The scheme of the Dominican Fathers was one that required an examination of the coast to find a tribe whose friendly attitude would justify remaining among them. But this the captain of the Santa Maria, John de Arana, who seems to have been utterly regardless of the intentions or fate of the missionaries, resolutely opposed. He ran a short distance up the coast, then returned to his anchorage, and insisted that the Dominican Fathers must land there or sail back with him. The missionaries held a consultation; to most of them it seemed rash to attempt any mission under such circumstances, when they were not at liberty to select a favorable spot or a friendly tribe; but Father Cancer felt bound by his instructions, and did not regard himself at liberty to abandon an attempt, proposed by himself to the king, without making some endeavor to carry it out. A few Indians who were fishing near the vessel, and whose cabins were in sight, seemed well disposed, and the missionaries landed to open intercourse with them. Father Diego de Tolosa disembarked with Fuentes, a pious man who had given his services to the mission, a sailor, and Magdalena. They proceeded to the Indian cabins; but while those on board were awaiting their return, a Spaniard reached the vessel who had been for many years a prisoner in the hands of the Indians. He assured the missionaries that Father Diego and Fuentes had been already murdered; but as Magdalena was seen on the shore, and declared that they were alive and well, Father Cancer and his surviving companions were divided in opinion. Father Louis finally resolved to land,[1] notwithstanding the remonstrances of Beteta,

[1] "Digo que un neg° de tanta imp ª que ha tres años que se ordena, no es bien se deshaga asi, i mas qndo depues de mª trabajos estamos bien juntos al punto del Esp. S. do vamos." F. Cancer, MS.

and Muñoz, the escaped prisoner. The sailors were afraid to row their boat to the shore, and Father Louis jumped into the water and waded ashore. From the ship he was seen to ascend the sloping bank, till Indians surrounded him; his hat was torn from his head, and as the good Father knelt in prayer, the Indians butchered him. Thus perished, in obedience to a sense of duty, Father Louis Cancer de Barbastro, one of the most remarkable missionaries of his order, whose wonderful sway over the Indians of Central America justified a confidence that the same means would influence the Mobilian tribes. The boat was driven off by showers of arrows, and the Santa Maria, with his dejected brethren, sailed back to Vera Cruz.[1]

For several years the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico, and the ocean-swept coast of Florida, were avoided by all who sought to colonize or conquer; and the mariners of Spain knew them as a dangerous and inhospitable land, where many a rich galleon had been wrecked, where man escaped the danger of the sea only to meet a more cruel death at the hands of the savages.

In 1553 a rich fleet, dispatched from Vera Cruz to Spain by the viceroy, Don Louis de Velasco, was driven on the coast of Texas. Nearly all were wrecked. One vessel returned to the port with the disastrous news, three others reached Seville, all the rest perished; and of the thousand persons on them, only three hundred reached the shore on spars, planks, and cases of merchandise, and made their way to the

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[1] "Relacion de la Florida" in Smith's Coleccion, pp. 190–202; "Requirimentos y respuestas"; opinions taken on the vessel, MS. Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," pp. 25–6. Davila Padilla, "Historia de la Provincia de Santiago de Mexico," ch. liv.-lvii.; Touron, "Histoire de l'Amérique," vi., p. 81. Fernandez, "Historia Eclesiastica de Nuestros Tiempos," 1611, ch. 43, p. 150.

Rio Grande, but nearly all perished before reaching Panuco, including several religious of the order of St. Dominic.[1]

It had become vitally important to Spain either to convert and conciliate the natives on the northern shores of the Gulf of Mexico and the southern Atlantic, or to plant settlements on the coast. The storms that sweep those seas had wrecked so many treasure ships that the French were beginning to trade with the natives for the silver that they secured, and the Indians seldom spared the shipwrecked Spaniards who fell into their hands.

In 1555 the Archbishop of Mexico, and in the following year, on the accession of Philip II., the Viceroy of Mexico, John de Urango, Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, whose diocese embraced Florida, and others, urged upon the king the necessity of planting colonies in Florida.[2] Philip approved the project, and confided its execution to the viceroy Velasco; the Provincial of the Dominicans in Mexico, Father Dominic of St. Mary, being commanded to send religious of his order with the colonizing expedition.

A fleet of thirteen vessels was fitted out at Vera Cruz and placed under the command of Don Tristan de Luna y Arellano, son of the Marshal Carlos de Luna, Governor of Yucatan. It comprised a force of 1,500 soldiers, many of whom had

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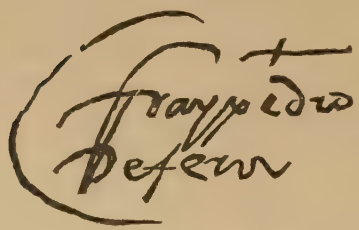
[1] Davila Padilla, "Historia de la fundacion de la Provincia de Santiago de Mexico," Madrid, 1596, pp. 231–268. Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," pp. 28–31.

[2] "Porque á nuestro oficio pastoral y al oficio apostólico que tenemos pertenece procurar por todas las vias y modos que pudiéremos como la Fée de Christo Nuestro Redentor sea ampliada, y todas las gentes vengan en conocimiento de Dios y salvar sus animas, suplicamos á V. M. sea servido proveer y mandar por las vias que mas justas parecieren que la Florida y gente della vengan en conoscimiento de su Criador, pues la tenemos tan cerca y sabemos la innumerable gente que en ella se condena por no haber quien les predique el Santo Evangelio." Archbishop of Mexico to the emperor, Nov. 1, 1555. "Col. de Doc. Ined.," 3, p. 526.

already been in Florida, with a number of settlers, and all necessary implements for tilling the earth, clearing the forests, and building houses and defences. At the head of the spiritual direction of the intended colony was the Dominican Father Peter de Feria, afterwards Bishop of Chiapa.



AUTOGRAPH OF FATHER PEDRO DE FERIA.

The plan was to form one settlement on the Gulf coast, one at Coosa, inland, and a third on the Atlantic at Santa Elena; not reducing the Indians by conquest, but as Father Feria states in a letter announcing his departure, "by good example, with good works, and with presents, to bring the Indians to a knowledge of our holy Faith and Catholic truth."

The viceroy acted with great prudence and forecast. Before sending out the expedition he dispatched Guido de Labazares, an experienced pilot, to examine the coast and select a port for the vessels to enter. The pilot selected Pensacola Bay, which he named Fernandina, a safe and good harbor, with a well-wooded country abounding in game and fish, and a soil that richly repaid the rude Indian cultivation. Then the expedition prepared to sail, the viceroy coming in person to Vera Cruz to address and encourage Tristan de Luna and those placed under his command. Father Peter de Feria went as vice-provincial of Florida, accompanied by Father Dominic of the Annunciation, Father Dominic de Salazar, Father John Mazuelas, Father Dominic of St. Dominic, and a lay brother. They sailed June 11, 1559, but though they entered Pensacola Bay, Tristan de Luna, instead of settling there as was intended, yielded to the advice of his pilots, and lost time in

looking for Ichuse or Santa Rosa Bay. Here the disembarkation began, but was carried on with little energy, the vessels riding at anchor for weeks, while an exploring party, accompanied by one of the missionaries, penetrated inland. On the 19th day of September a terrible hurricane came upon them; five ships, a galleon, and a bark perished; many of the people, and nearly all the year's provision, were destroyed. After this terrible blow, Tristan de Luna obtained relief from Mexico; and another exploring party, attended by Fathers Dominic of the Annunciation and Father Salazar, reached Nanipacna on the Escambia, an Indian town, which seemed so attractive that Tristan de Luna, leaving a detachment on the coast, proceeded to it, and naming it Santa Cruz, resolved to settle there. The commander showed in everything dilatoriness and inefficiency. At Santa Cruz he probably erected some dwellings, and perhaps a chapel; though he wintered there, he cleared and planted no land in the spring; but Jaramillo was sent on an expedition to Cosa, on the Coosa, attended by the same missionaries, to obtain provisions from the Indians. Forming a friendly alliance with the Cosa tribe, the Spaniards accompanied their war parties against the Napochies, a tributary tribe on the Mississippi, who sought to throw off their yoke. Father Dominic of the Annunciation, and Father Salazar, shared all the hardships and dangers of the party, saying mass in rustic chapels made of boughs, as the camp moved from place to place. On one of these occasions, as Father Dominic was saying mass, he saw a huge caterpillar on the very rim of the chalice, just after the consecration. He was afraid to attempt to remove it for fear it should fall into the chalice; he uttered a fervent prayer, and to his relief saw it fall from the chalice dead on the altar.

Regarded as a divine interposition this incident filled the

party with new confidence. Before the return of this party, Tristan de Luna abandoned Santa Cruz and retired to Pensacola, where finally the whole force was gathered. He wished to proceed to Cosa and form a settlement there, but his men refused. Three vessels sent to examine St. Helena Sound were scattered by a storm. The fine expedition fitted out from Mexico, and maintained at enormous expense, after nearly two years' occupation of Florida had effected absolutely nothing; not a sign of settlement, no houses, chapels, or anything but mere temporary structures existed. Father Feria, finding that there was no hope of a successful colonization, embarked for Havana with Father John and Father Dominic, when Tristan de Luna returned to the coast; he believed his fellow missionaries dead, but left some wheat flour to enable them to say mass.[1] The other Fathers labored among the Spaniards, but among the Indians found their ministry so fruitless that only one conversion is attributed to their zeal. The dissension that arose between Tristan de Luna, whose mind was unsettled by delirious fevers, and the next in command, George Ceron, gave the missionaries a field for their Christian charity, as it divided the camp into two hostile factions. Tristan issued an order menacing any deserter with death. Two soldiers attempted to escape from the camp, and were sentenced to die. In vain did Father Dominic of the Annunciation implore their pardon; but as the commander sternly refused, he hastened to prepare the unfortunate men for death, urging them to recite the rosary and commend themselves to Our Lady. One hearkened to him, and spent the night performing the devotion with the zealous Dominican; the other sullenly refused. In the morn-

[1] This little provision is reported to have lasted till the settlement broke up, and its inexhaustible nature recalled the miracle of the widow's cruse.

ing Tristan de Luna remitted the punishment of the client of Mary, and the other paid the penalty of the law.

As the dissension increased, the governor finally condemned Ceron and his adherents to death as rebels. After Father Salazar had in vain endeavored to appease the commander, Father Dominic of the Annunciation resolved to make a solemn and public appeal to his Christian feelings. As Holy Week approached the missionaries commended the affair to God, and on Palm Sunday Father Dominic offered earnest prayers for peace. The general, Ceron, and the officers and soldiers gathered in the chapel for mass, which Father Dominic was to offer. The holy sacrifice went on till the moment of communion approached, when he suddenly called Tristan de Luna by name. The general, amazed, rose and approached the altar. Turning towards him with the sacred host in his hands, Father Dominic said: "You believe that it is the true Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who came from heaven to earth to redeem us from the power of sin and the devil, this Sacred Host, which I hold in my unworthy hands?" "Yes, I believe it," replied the governor, not knowing what all this meant. "Do you believe that this same Lord is to come to judge the living and the dead, to reward the good and punish the wicked?" "Yes, I believe," again replied Tristan; and Father Dominic, believing that he had touched his heart, proceeded: "If then you believe, as a true and faithful Christian, in the real presence of the Supreme Judge of all, in this Holy Host, how, without fear of Him who is to judge us, can you permit so many evils, so many sins against Him, as for the last five months we have deplored and wept over? It behooves you, as superior, to remedy it; and to read in your own heart whether hatred, cloaked with zeal for justice, has room in your heart, when to distinguish them the least

ray of the Divine Light, which you have before you, suffices. You beheld the innocent suffer as well as those you judge guilty, and you would confound the punishment of some with the unjustice you wreak on others. What account can you give of yourself on the tremendous day of judgment, if against yourself you hate peace, and deprive us all of it, when God became man to give peace to men? Do you wish to deprive us of this happiness, fanning the flames of Satan, the father of discord?"

He continued for a time in this strain, and when he turned to the altar, the governor returned to his place deeply moved. No sooner was the mass ended than Tristan arose, declaring that he had never intended to wrong any man. If led by a sense of duty he had done so, he asked pardon. They did not allow him to proceed; Ceron and his officers were kneeling around him, asking pardon at his hands. A general reconciliation followed, and all prepared to remedy the distress caused by the unfortunate discord. But in a few days vessels arrived under Angel de Villafañe, bearing Father John de Contreras, with Father Gregory de Beteta, who had renounced a bishopric, to spend his remaining days in Florida. But when a general council was held, it was determined to abandon the country; all except a small party of soldiers, left as a garrison, embarked, and Villafañe sailed with them to Saint Helena on the Atlantic coast, but deeming it unsuited for settlement, returned to Mexico in 1561.[1]

The only fruit of the voyage to the Atlantic coast was a young Indian, brother of the Cacique of Axacan, on the

[1] The story of Tristan de Luna's colony is given in Davila Padilla, "Relacion de la Fundacion de la Provincia de Santiago," 1567, pp. 247–277; "Coleccion de Documentos inéditos," v., p. 447; "Relacion" and Letters of Velasco (Smith's Coleccion, p. 10); "Memorial of Tristan de Luna," Doc. inéd., xii., pp. 280–3; testimony taken in regard to the colony; and Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," pp. 32–41.

Chesapeake, who was taken at this time by the Dominicans to Mexico.

Florida seemed so utterly unsuited to colonization, so devoid of wealth to be drawn from mines or soil, that all further attempts were regarded as visionary; and a board appointed by the Spanish monarch decided that no project of the kind was to be entertained, since no other European nation would attempt or could hope to form a prosperous settlement there to the detriment of Spain.

But the elements still strewed the shores with the wrecks of vessels, and the waves bore to the beach the bodies of white men or wretched survivors with fragments of the rich cargoes. Heart-broken at the loss of a son, wrecked on Florida, Peter Menendez, a famous naval commander, arrived in Spain possessed with only one thought, that of asking the royal permission to sail to the rescue of the last scion of his ancient house. Enemies created by the brave but arbitrary commander, caused his arrest on charges of misconduct, and he lingered for months in prison. On obtaining his release he sought the presence of Philip II., to obtain the gratification of his earnest desire. Notwithstanding the recent decision of his officials, the Spanish monarch proposed to Menendez the occupation and settlement of Florida. Menendez did not refuse the unsought honor, attended, as it was, with toil and little prospect of success. He formed his plans, summoning around him kinsmen and vassals. While he was collecting ships, men, arms, and provisions of every kind, there came the startling intelligence that the Calvinists of France, whose corsairs were the unsparing foes of Spain on the ocean, had actually sent out an expedition and occupied Saint Helena Sound in less than a year after Villafañe had pronounced it entirely unfit for settlement.

The expedition of Menendez, from being the affair of an

individual proprietor, assumed a national importance. Philip gave him royal vessels and royal aid, to root out utterly a settlement which would be a constant menace to the commerce of Spain, and which from the days of Cartier's voyage to the St. Lawrence, it had been the resolution of the Spanish government to prevent.

Charlesfort, established by Ribault on Port Royal Sound in 1562, did not subsist long. After indolence, mutiny, and starvation, a few survivors rescued by an English vessel, landed at last in England. Admiral Coligny, undismayed by this failure, sent out another expedition in 1564 under René de Laudonniere. In June that commander entered the St. John's River, which the French had named the River of May. Gaining the good-will of Saturiova and other chiefs, the French commander threw up Fort Caroline on the main river of Florida. This new settlement was no better managed than the former. Mutiny ensued there also, and the rebellious party extorting a license from Laudonniere, took the vessels and proceeded on a piratical cruise against the Spanish ships and seaside settlements. Those who remained would have perished but for aid furnished by Sir John Hawkins, who, himself cruising against the Spaniards, happened to enter the river on the 3d of August. Even after this aid Laudonniere was on the point of abandoning Florida when Ribault arrived with a large force in seven vessels.

The activity of Menendez's preparations for the occupation of Florida had become known in France, and Admiral Coligny determined to maintain his settlement and resist the Spaniards. For this purpose he had equipped the expedition under Ribault, who sailed from Dieppe, in France, on the 26th of May, as Menendez did from Spain on the 29th of June, 1565.

Each commander used all the resources of seamanship to

outstrip his antagonist, Menendez to strike a decisive blow before Ribault could arrive, the French captain to reinforce Caroline so as to meet any Spanish attack.

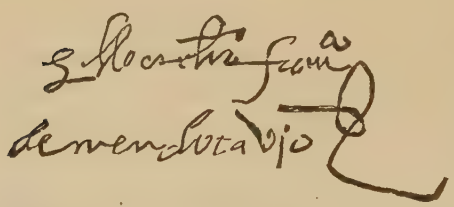
Menendez sailed from Cadiz with the San Pelayo, a royal vessel, and nineteen others carrying more than fifteen hundred persons, including mechanics of all kinds. Four secular priests with proper faculties sailed on the San Pelayo. Other vessels followed, one from Cadiz, and three from Aviles and Gijon under Stephen de las Alas, who sailed May 25th with 257 more persons, including eleven Franciscan Fathers, and one lay brother, a Father of the Mercedarian order, one cleric, and eight Jesuit Fathers.[1] Including smaller vessels with supplies, the whole number that embarked for Florida was 2,646, Menendez having expended a million ducats in fourteen months. This great armament was scattered by storms, and Menendez reached Porto Rico with less than one-third his force in men and vessels. Learning there that Ribault had outsailed him, and captured a Spanish vessel in the West Indies, thus opening hostilities, Menendez held a council of war, in which it was decided to proceed and attack the French at once. He reached the coast of Florida on the 28th of August, the feast of St. Augustine, and the Te Deum was chanted with great solemnity. Giving the name of the Bishop of Hippo to a harbor which he discovered, Menendez sailed on to discover the French fort. Coming upon Ribault's vessels at the mouth of the St. John's, he announced his determination to put them all to death. No quarter at that time was shown to the Spaniards on sea or land by the French and English cruisers; the Spanish soldiers in the army of the league in France; those who escaped from the wreck of the Armada on the coast of Ireland,

[1] Barcia, p. 691.

all were put to death without mercy by the English, unless they were rich enough to ransom their lives. Only a few years before Jacques Sorie, a French commander, had burned Havana and hung his prisoners amid the smoking ruins. The terms announced by Menendez to the French were precisely those given to the Spaniards by French and English.[1]

After an ineffectual pursuit of the French vessels, Menendez sailed down the coast to the harbor of Saint Augustine, where he had determined to plant his settlement. His resolution was to fortify his position there and hold out till the rest of his fleet arrived.

Entering the harbor on the 6th of September, he sent three companies of soldiers ashore under two captains, who were to select a site and begin a fort. A cacique gave the newcomers a large cabin near the seashore, and around it the Spanish officers traced the outline of a fort; the soldiers, with their hands and anything they could fashion into an implement, digging the ditches and throwing up the ramparts. The next day, September 8, 1565, Menendez landed amid the thunder of artillery and the blast of trumpets, the banners of Castile and Arragon unfurled. The priest, Mendoza Grajales, who had landed the previous day, took a cross and proceeded to meet him, followed by the soldiers, chanting the Te



AUTOGRAPH OF REV. MARTIN FRANCISCO DE MENDOZA GRAJALES, FIRST PARISH PRIEST OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

[1] No Spaniard was found among Ribault's men, so that we must infer that those taken on the vessel he captured in the West Indies were put to death.

SAINT AUGUSTINE AND ITS ENVIRONS. FROM A SPANISH PLAN, BY JOHN JOSEPH ELIXIO DE LA PUENTE, FEBRUARY 16, 1771.

(12) "Spot called Nombre de Dios, and is the same where the first mass was said, September 8, 1565, when the Spaniards went with the Adelantado Pedro Menendez de Aviles to conquer these provinces, and since then an Indian town has been formed there, with a chapel, in which was placed the statue of Nuestra Señora de la Leche. The town and chapel subsisted till March 20, 1728, when, in consequence of the British forces then obtaining possession of it (they were then endeavoring to take the said fortress by surprise), the Spanish governor ordered it to be demolished."

(15) "The chapel of Nuestra Señora de la Leche, and lands occupied by the Indians, who subsequently established their town there."

(19) "Chapel of Our Lady of Guadalupe, with the territory occupied by the Indians of their town called Tolomato."

(34) "Spot where there was a fort and Indian town, which was called 'Nombre de Dios Chiquito,' from the second mass having been said there, at the time of the conquest by the said Pedro Menendez de Aviles."

(36) "Spot called Casapullas, where there was another Indian town."

(17) Fort.

(22) City Wall.

(23) City of St. Augustine.

(24) Indian Church of La Punta.

(26) San Sebastian River.

(27) Potolaca. Fort and Indian Church.

(28) Palica. Fort and Indian Church.

Deum. Menendez advanced to the cross, which he kissed on bended knee, as did all who followed him.[1] The solemn mass of Our Lady was then offered at a spot, the memory of which has been preserved on Spanish maps. It received the name of Nombre de Dios, as there the name of God was first invoked by the awful sacrifice of the New Law. There in time the piety of the faithful erected the primitive hermitage or shrine of Nuestra Señora de la Leche.[2] Thus began the city of St. Augustine, and thus began the permanent service of the Catholic Church in that oldest city of the United States, maintained now with but brief interruption for more than three hundred years. The name of the celebrant is not stated, and we know that besides Grajales there was present Doctor Solis de Meras, brother-in-law of Menendez.

The work of landing the supplies for the settlers, and arms and munitions for the soldiers went steadily on, directed by Menendez himself. His vessels could not cross the bar to enter the harbor, and were exposed to attack. In fact his boats while landing the supplies were nearly captured by the French, who suddenly appeared. The Spaniards ascribed their escape to Our Lady of Consolation at Utrera, whom they invoked in their sore strait. As soon as all needed by his settlement was disembarked, Menendez sent off his vessels and prepared to act on the defensive. His force consisted of six hundred men at arms; the French were superior in numbers, and had their ships. But while the French vessels hovered around the entrance to the harbor of St. Augustine, wasting their opportunity to strike a decisive

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[1] Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales, "Memoria," Sept. 29, 1565, MS.

[2] It was north of the present Fort Marion, and further from it than the second shrine of N. S. de la Leche. The offering of the mass is not mentioned by Mendoza, but is given by Barcia, p. 76.

blow, the practiced eye of Menendez, trained by long experience to know the changes of tropical weather, discerned a coming norther. The French fleet must be driven southward before it, far from their fort. In an instant he resolved to assume the offensive, to march on Fort Caroline, which he believed to be but fifteen miles distant, capture it, and leave the French without a foothold on the coast. A mass of the Holy Ghost was offered, and a council convened. Most of the officers opposed his plan as rash; the two priests begged him not to leave his fort with helpless women and children exposed to the French or Indian foes.

Selecting nearly all his soldiers able to march, Menendez set out on the 16th after hearing mass with his troops, leaving the settlers and the feeble garrison of the fort in deep anxiety and fear. Gathering around their altar as days went on, they sought the protection of heaven against dangers that menaced them from the sea and from the land. Faint-hearted deserters from the expedition came back announcing that Menendez was marching to certain destruction. Every hour increased the possibility of a return of the French ships, conscious, perhaps, of their defenceless state.

Meanwhile Menendez had pushed on amid the storm, through swamps and flooded lands, his march impeded by the tropic vegetation. At daybreak on the 21st he dashed into Fort Caroline, putting all to the sword, sparing only the women, and boys under fifteen. It was not a battle; it was a mere slaughter; for Laudonniere seems to have made no preparation for defence.

The next day mass was celebrated in the captured fort, which received the name of San Matheo—its capture having taken place on the feast of the apostle St. Matthew. Then two crosses were set up on eminences, and a site marked out

for a chapel to be built of wood prepared by the French for a vessel.[1]

The anxiety at St. Augustine was relieved on the 24th by the approach of a soldier announcing the victory. Mendoza, arrayed in his best cassock and surplice, went to meet the general with four ecclesiastics chanting the Te Deum, in which Menendez and the soldiers who accompanied him joined after kneeling to kiss the cross.

When some days afterwards the shipwrecked Frenchmen of Ribault's force approached St. Augustine, Mendoza accompanied Menendez by his command. The Spanish general resolved to put all the unfortunate men to death; but Mendoza writes: "As I was a priest, and had the bowels of a man, I asked him to grant me a favor, and it was that those who should prove to be Christian should not die, and so he granted. Examination made, we found ten or twelve, and these we brought with us."[2]

Menendez, thus left in full possession of Florida, planned the occupation of Port Royal, the Chesapeake, and Tampa Bay. Besides strengthening St. Augustine and San Matheo, he visited Port Royal in April, 1566, and erected a stockade fort, which he named San Felipe, and assigned the command to Stephen de las Alas.[3] Menendez, in his asiento with the

[1] Barcia, who followed the manuscript of Don Solis de Meras, mentions the mass and projected chapel, so that probably that priest accompanied Menendez on his march.

[2] The terrible slaughter of shipwrecked men by Menendez aroused great indignation in France, and appeals were made to the king to avenge it. Only by perverting historical truth, however, can it be made a solitary or unusual case. The French never gave quarter to the Spaniards, and only a few years before, Menendez had seen the burning ruins of Havana strewn with the corpses of its butchered inhabitants, and there is every reason to believe that the cruisers from Caroline and Ribault put to death the Spaniards whom they captured.

[3] Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," p. 108.

P. Petrus Martinez Hispan. S.I. odio Fidei Christianæ occisus à
Barbaris Americanis in Insula Florida A° 1566. 28 Septembris.
C. Screta del.
Melch. Küsell f

DEATH OF FATHER PETER MARTINEZ, S.J.
FROM TANNER, "SOCIETAS MILITANS," 1675.

king, March 20, 1565, bound himself to bring out ten or twelve religious of some order, men of exemplary life, and four Jesuits. He was himself zealous, and alive to the necessity of converting the Indians to Christianity, and at various points erected crosses, and left Spaniards, men of probity, who were daily at the foot of the cross, to recite a short abridgment of Christian doctrine, to familiarize the natives with the devotions of Catholics. He earnestly appealed to the Society of Jesus for missionaries to labor for their conversion.

Of the first church at St. Augustine and the chapels at San Matheo and San Felipe we have no distinct accounts; but in the mutinies and troubles incident to a new settlement, we find the Vicar Lopez de Mendoza interceding for mutineers and saving their lives. He was an active and zealous priest and seems to have labored from Cannaveral to the St. John's River. He was a native of Xerez de la Frontera, and was named by Menendez, with the consent of the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, under the Royal Patronage, granted to the Spanish monarchs by Pope Julius II.,[1] Vicar and Superior at St. Augustine and San Matheo, having four clergymen under him, one of whom soon proved to be most unworthy.[2]

In the vessels that arrived in 1566 there came some Dominican Fathers, and Menendez sent two of them with Don Luis Velasco, the brother of the chieftain of Axacan, to the Chesapeake, with a captain and thirty soldiers for their protection. Menendez deemed it necessary to occupy the bay

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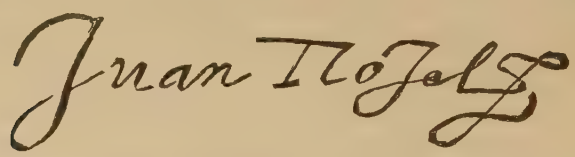
[1] Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," p. 173. See Bull, "Universalis Ecclesiæ Regimini," July 28, 1538, in Ribadaneyra, "Manual, ò Compendio del Regio Patronato," pp. 408–15. Hernaez, "Coleccion de Bulas," Brussels, 1879, i., pp. 24–25.

[2] Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," p. 116; Letter of Vicar Mendoza, December 19, 1569.

as the northern bulwark of the Spanish power. His intention was, however, baffled, for the captain, pretending to have been prevented by storms, made his way to Seville.[1]

The Spanish commander, as we have seen, had labored to give the Indians some ideas of Christianity. Philip II. had already requested St. Francis Borgia, General of the Society of Jesus, to send twenty-four of his religious to found a mission in Florida. Unable to assign so many at once, the Saint selected for the purpose Father Peter Martinez, a native of Celda, in the diocese of Saragosa; Father John Rogel, of Pamplona, and Brother Francis de Villareal. These pioneers sailed from San Lucar in a Flemish vessel, but near the Florida coast it separated from the fleet to which it belonged.



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF FATHER JOHN ROGEL.

Ignorant of his position the captain sent a boat ashore, in which Father Martinez embarked to reassure the sailors. While they were on land a storm drove the vessel off, and it eventually put in at Havana; meanwhile the missionary and his party, endeavoring to reach the Spanish port, were assailed by Indians, who dragged Father Martinez from the boat and put him to death on the island of Tacatacuru, now Cumberland, not far from the mouth of St. John's River.[2]

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[1] Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," pp. 119, 123; Letter of Menendez to the king. The first chapel was apparently at Nombre de Dios Chiquite, where the city was first begun. It was removed before 1570 to its present position. "Discurso sobre la poblacion de la Costa de la Florida," MS. See plan of De la Puente, No. 34.

[2] Tanner, "Societas Jesu usque ad Sanguinis et Vitæ Profusionem Militans," Prague, 1675, pp. 443–5; Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," p. 120.

With this good missionary were lost Bulls and Faculties of St. Pius V. regarding the mission.[1] Father Rogel and his companion, at the request of Menendez, remained in Havana to study the language of the Indians of Southern Florida. In March, 1567, they proceeded with Menendez to the province of Carlos, where the Spaniards had erected a block-house. The governor ordered another house to be put up for Doña Antonia, the converted sister of the chief, and a chapel in which Father Rogel might offer the holy sacrifice. This third Catholic chapel in Florida was on Charlotte Harbor, on the western shore of the peninsula. Father Rogel immediately began a series of instructions to the soldiers, who had long been deprived of the sacraments. He remained as chaplain of the post and missionary to the Indians till Menendez arrived from Spain in 1568, bringing ten missionaries chosen by St. Francis Borgia. They were Father John Baptist Segura, a native of Toledo, who had been appointed Vice-Provincial of Florida; Fathers Gonzalo del Alamo, Antonio Sedeño, and Juan de la Carrera, with several brothers, Dominic Augustine Baez, John Baptist Mendez, Gabriel Solis, Peter Ruiz, John Salcedo, Christopher Redondo, and Peter de Linares. An Indian school was estab-

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[1] Barcia, p. 121; Letter of Don Pedro Menendez, October 16, 1566, in Alcazar, "Chrono-Historia de la Provincia de Toledo"; translated by D. G. Brinton, in Historical Magazine, October, 1861, pp. 292–4. The place where Father Martinez died was on the island of Tacatacuru. This was an island six leagues long, near the mouth of the St. John, evidently to the north, as the French occupied it in operating against Fort San Mateo. The Spaniards erected Fort San Pedro on it, and the island took that name, which Oglethorpe changed to Cumberland. "Col. de Doc. Ined.," 13, pp. 307–8; Stevens, "Georgia," i., 135. The holy Pope, Saint Pius V., was deeply interested in the conversion and kind treatment of the Indians, which he constantly urged. See letters in Hernaez, i., pp. 104–108; letter to Menendez, Barcia, an. 1569.

lished in Havana under Father Rogel and Brother Villareal, to receive boys sent from the province of Carlos.

Father Segura and the others, after proclaiming the Jubilee in St. Augustine, proceeded to Carlos, and also began missions in the provinces of Tocobaga and Tequesta, besides attending the Spanish posts; Father Sedeño with Brother Baez finally taking up his abode in Guale, now Amelia Island, and he may be regarded as the pioneer priest of Georgia. Brother Baez applied himself so zealously to the language of the Indians that in time he drew up a grammar and prepared a catechism for the instruction of the neophytes.[1]

The next year (1569) Father Rogel went with some of his fellow religious to the post of Santa Helena, on Port Royal harbor, thus becoming the first resident priest in the present territory of South Carolina. After ministering to the Spanish soldiers and settlers, he entered the Indian town of Orista, twelve leagues from the post, which excited great hopes, as the natives seemed more civilized and docile than those of Carlos. Here a church was erected, and a house for him and three young men whom he took as assistants. At the end of six months, by diligent study, he acquired the language sufficiently to instruct the Indians in the fundamental doctrines of the Unity and Omnipotence of God, the immortality of the soul, a state of rewards and punishment. But though they listened at first, his flock soon scattered. Father Sedeño retained his auditors only while the store of Indian corn lasted, which the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, Don Juan del Castillo, had given him to win the good-will of the people. Brother Baez died of malarial fever amid his labors, and Father Sedeño returned to Santa Helena; but at the close of a year the labors of Fathers Segura, Sedeño, and Alamo, and

[1] Barcia, p. 138; Tanner, "Societas Militans," p. 447.

P. Joañes Bapt: de Segura Gabriel Gomez Petrus de Linarez Sancti Sauelli,
Christoph: Rotundi Hisp: S.I. in Florida pro Christi fide trucidati A. 1571. 8. Febr.
C. Screta del. Melch. Küsell f.

DEATH OF FATHER JOHN BAPTIST DE SEGURA, S.J., AND HIS COMPANIONS.
FROM TANNER, "SOCIETAS MILITANS," 1675.

Brother Villareal, had resulted in the baptism of seven, four children and three adults, at the point of death.

Father Rogel found as little to console him at Orista, for though he induced the Indians to build houses and plant the Indian corn which he distributed among them, their fickle nature soon wearied of the restraint, and nearly all abandoned the rising village. The few who remained rose against him when he warned them to avoid the snares and deceits of the devil, for they declared him to be the best thing in the world, as he made men brave. Other tribes which the missionary visited gave him no encouragement; and in July, 1570, he demolished his house and chapel, and promising the Indians to return as soon as they were willing to hear him, made his way, sad and dispirited, to Santa Helena, where Father Alamo had remained. There he labored among the Spaniards for a time, witnessing the sufferings for want of food, men reduced by hunger till unfit to labor.[1] To obtain relief he proceeded to Havana with Father Sedeño, taking Indian boys from various tribes to the seminary.

Menendez, in Spain, had received the following letter from Saint Pius V., then Pope:

"TO OUR BELOVED SON AND NOBLE LORD PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES, VICEROY IN THE PROVINCE OF FLORIDA IN THE PARTS OF INDIA:

"Beloved Son and noble Sir—

"Health, grace, and the blessing of our Lord be with you. Amen.

"We rejoice greatly to hear that our dear and beloved son in Christ, Philip, Catholic King, has named and appointed

[1] Letter of Father Rogel to Juan de Hinystrosa, Dec. 2, 1569, MS. Letter of same to Menendez, Dec. 9, 1570, in Alcazar, "Chrono-Historia de la Compania de Jesus en la Provincia de Toledo," Dec. iii.: Año viii.; translated by D. G. Brinton in Histor. Magazine, 1861, p. 327.

you Governor of Florida, creating you adelantado thereof; for we hear such an account of your person, and so full and satisfactory a report of your virtue and nobility, that we believe, without hesitation, that you will not only faithfully, diligently, and carefully perform the orders and instructions given you by so Catholic a king, but trust also that you, by your discretion and habit, will do all to effect the increase of our holy Catholic faith, and gain more souls to God. I am well aware, as you know, that it is necessary to govern these Indians with good sense and discretion; that those who are weak in the faith, from being newly converted, be confirmed and strengthened; and idolaters be converted, and receive the faith of Christ, that the former may praise God, knowing the benefit of his divine mercy, and the latter, still infidels, may, by the example and model of those now out of blindness, be brought to a knowledge of the truth: but nothing is more important, in the conversion of these Indians and idolaters, than to endeavor by all means to prevent scandal being given by the vices and immoralities of such as go to those western parts. This is the key of this holy work, in which is included the whole essence of your charge.

"You see, noble sir, without my alluding to it, how great an opportunity is offered you, in furthering and aiding this cause, from which result—1st, Serving the Almighty; 2d, Increasing the name of your king, who will be esteemed by men, loved and rewarded by God.

"Giving you, then, our paternal and apostolical blessing, we beg and charge you to give full faith and credit to our brother, the Archbishop of Rossano, who, in our name, will explain our desire more at length.

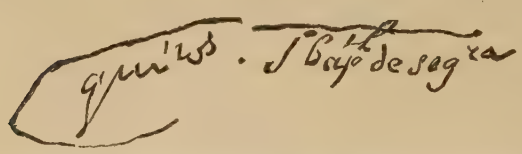
"Given at Rome, with the fisherman's ring, on the 18th day of August, in the year of our Redemption, 1569, the third of our pontificate."

Letters from St. Francis Borgia urged the missionaries to persevere in the barren fields, and Sedeño embarked with a party of soldiers going to Santa Helena. Sickness broke out, and the missionary with his comrade, Brother Villareal, were both stricken down. The disease proved so obstinate that they were put on a vessel for Havana, but it was wrecked on the coast, and only after great privations and suffering did the invalids reach St. Augustine.

Menendez still clung to the idea of occupying the Chesapeake, and coming from Spain brought the Indian Don Luis de Velasco, and some additional Jesuit missionaries, Father Louis de Quiros and Brothers Gabriel Gomez and Sancho de Zevallos. After he reached Santa Helena in November, 1570, Father Segura, the Vice-Provincial, resolved to go in person to found the new mission, relying on the promise of protection of the Indian Velasco. He selected as his companion Father Louis de Quiros, and Brothers Solis, Mendez, Redondo, Linares, Gabriel Gomez, and Sancho Zevallos.[1] Every preparation was made for a permanent mission; the priests carried vestments, books, and chapel furniture, necessary implements, provisions for the winter. Four Indian boys, who had for some time been under instruction, accompanied the missionaries. Don Luis Velasco gave every assurance as to the personal safety of the missioners, declaring that they should want nothing, as he would aid them in everything. They sailed from Santa Helena, August 5, 1570, and crept slowly up the coast to the entrance of St. Mary's Bay. Passing through the capes they ascended the Potomac, and on the 10th of September reached their destination.

[1] There is a little obscurity as to these. F. Rogel's letter from Havana, December 9, 1570, says they were "nine in number, five of the Society and four youths who have been instructed"; but the names in Barcia and Tanner give two priests and seven brothers.

Father Quiros, in a letter written from this spot two days after, says: "We found the country of Don Louis in a very different condition from what we anticipated, not because he misrepresented in his account of it, but because our Lord has chastised it with six years sterility and death, which has left it very thinly inhabited compared to what it used to be, many of the people having died and others removed to other lands to appease their hunger." The Indians had no corn; the berries and roots they usually gathered had failed, and the winters had been severe. They manifested, however, great joy at the return of Don Louis, and earnestly besought the missionaries to stay; the chief, who lived seven or eight leagues off, begging them to go to his child who was at the point of death. Father Segura sent one of the party to baptize it, and then held council as to their course. The Potomac was supposed to rise in mountains beyond which lay the Pacific, and it was important to learn the real topography of the country. The field for preaching the gospel seemed a favorable one, and they resolved to face all hardships, depending on prompt relief from their countrymen. Yet so poorly had the vessel been fitted with stores that on the voyage the crew used two of four barrels of ship's biscuit intended for the winter supply of the missionaries.



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURES OF FATHERS QUIROS AND SEGURA. FROM THEIR LETTER WRITTEN IN VIRGINIA SEPT. 12, 1570.

Father Segura joined Father Quiros in his letter, urging in the strongest terms the importance and necessity of sending them further supplies with all possible expedition. For the

spring too they asked seed corn to induce the Indians to plant crops for the year.

The vessel left them on the 12th, the captain having agreed to come on his return to the mouth of a river they had passed on the way, which ran near the one they ascended, and on which really the tribe of Don Luis lived. This was evidently the Rappahannock. At the mouth a fire by night or smoke by day was to be answered by a letter from the vessel.

After the departure of the vessel the Jesuit mission party set out for their place of settlement, they and the Indians carrying their baggage a distance of two leagues to the other river, where they embarked in wretched canoes.[1] Don Louis does not seem to have guided them to his brother's village, but to have advised them to fix their residence at some distance. They erected a hut of logs and branches, and prepared to winter there, making it their chapel and home. Louis remained with them for a time as their interpreter and teacher, but as weeks wore on the hope of relief from Santa Helena faded. Their countrymen had abandoned them, and as their provisions failed they sought to sustain life by roots and herbs. Louis left them and retired to the village of his brother, a league and a half distant. In February the superior sent Father Quiros with Solis and Mendez to urge Velasco to return, but he put them off with frivolous excuses, and finally, on the 14th, treacherously attacked them with a party of Indians, slaying them by a shower of arrows. Four days after the chief with Louis and the warriors invested the mission chapel, and demanded all the axes and knives of the party. Father Segura saw the cassock of Father Quiros and

[1] Letter of Father Quiros, September 12, 1570, with addition by Father Segura, and supplement by Quiros.

knew that the end had come. He prepared his companions for death, and all soon fell beneath the blows of the Indians dealt with the implements they had surrendered.

One only of the party, Alonso, an Indian boy, escaped, having been concealed by a friendly native.[1]

When late in the spring Brother Vincent Gonzalez induced a Spanish pilot to sail to Axacan, no tidings of the Fathers could be obtained, but the conduct of the Indians inspired the worst fears. Menendez, who had gone to Spain after hearing of Segura's landing in Axacan, received on his return the report of Gonzalez. He sailed to the Chesapeake, and seized several of the Indians, demanding the surrender of Don Luis. Alonso succeeded in reaching the Spaniards, and gave a full account of the death of the missionaries. Louis escaped, but eight of those who were proved to have been active in murdering the missionaries were hung by Menendez. They were, however, prepared for death and baptized by Father Rogel, who had come on the vessel, and who bore away as a relic of his martyred brethren a crucifix to which a miracle was ascribed.[2]

Father Segura had directed Fathers Rogel and Sedeño to remain at the Spanish posts, but they were in such distress and the Indians so hostile that they retired to Havana.

St. Francis Borgia, on learning the death of Father Segura and the apparent hopelessness of any permanent Spanish settlement in Florida, recalled the members of the Society, who thereupon proceeded to Mexico and founded a flourishing province. In fact the Spanish settlements, in spite of all Menendez's exertions and outlay, were on the brink of ruin.

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[1] Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," pp. 142–146; Tanner, "Societas Military," pp. 447–451.

[2] Rogel, Letter of December 9, 1570.

A report on their condition soon after says the few people there were losing their faith and piety, as for a considerable time there was no priest or friar at St. Augustine to say mass and administer the sacraments, and although friars had arrived, some were going and others had gone elsewhere.[1]

The friars referred to were apparently those sent over by Menendez in 1573, and whom the Governor of Florida found on his return to Santa Helena, after a voyage of exploration to the Chesapeake.

Wretched as the condition of Florida was, it declined after the death of Don Pedro Menendez in 1574, till the Spanish Government, recognizing the importance to the kingdom and its commerce of retaining Florida, provided for its maintenance.[2] In 1586 St. Augustine had made some progress. The city had its public buildings, a parish church, and well-cultivated gardens, when Francis Drake, in one of his piratical cruises, attacked it, and in revenge for the death of one of his men set fire to the place and destroyed it, the garrison and its inhabitants having retired to San Matheo.

The Indian missions, which the sons of St. Dominic and St. Ignatius had failed to render successful, devolved at last on the sons of John Bernardon, St. Francis of Assisi. Father Alonzo de Reynoso arrived with a number of Fathers toward the close of the year 1577. They began their labors among the Indians at Nombre de Dios and San Sebastian, and with such success that Indian converts were soon regular attendants at the Sunday mass in the parish church.[3]

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[1] "Discurso sobre la poblacion de la costa de la Florida," MS.

[2] Barcia, p. 149.

[3] Ibid., p. 162. Testimony of Juan Menendez Marques, 1588, MS. F. Alonzo Reynoso's arrival is given in this document as 37, but as he is mentioned as bearer of a letter from Florida in 1583, we infer that 1577 is meant.

The Franciscan mission about 1592 consisted of Father Francis Marron, the Custos, the zealous Fathers Balthazar Lopez and Peter de Corpa, with another priest and two lay brothers. As they were especially designed for the Indian missions, they took up their residence in the towns of the natives from the island of St. Peter, now called Cumberland, to San Sebastian.[1]

The only secular priest whose name appears in Florida in 1593, was the Rev. Rodrigo Garcia de Truxillo, parish priest of St. Augustine, then very old, broken by his twenty-eight years' labor there and his previous service as navy chaplain.[2]

In this state of spiritual destitution an appeal was made to Father Bernardine de San Cebrian, Commissary General of the Indies, to increase the number of his Franciscan Fathers in Florida. The Council of the Indies gave free passage to twelve, who were sent with Father John de Silva as superior, a missionary who had already labored fruitfully in Mexico. These missionaries, who reached Havana in 1593, were Fathers Michael de Auñon, Peter de Auñon, Peter Fernandez de Chozas, preachers; Fathers Blas de Montes, Francis Pareja, Peter de San Gregorio, Francis de Velascola, Francis de Avila, Francis Bonilla, and Peter Ruiz, priests and confessors, and Brother Peter Viniegra, a lay brother.

The next year these religious began their labors in Florida, Father Marron sending Fathers Peter de Corpa, Michael de Auñon, Francis de Velascola, and Blas Rodriguez with Brother Anthony Badajoz to the island of Guale, the present Amelia Island, where the Indians had become so bold and violent that the Spanish soldiers durst not venture outside

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[1] Stevens, "History of Georgia," i., p. 135.

[2] Barcia, pp. 166–7. Relacion hecha a S. M. año de 1593, MS. This priest must have been there from the time of the settlement.

their palisades.[1] The missionaries by their instructions and kind ways soon changed the face of the province. For two years they labored with apparent success, baptizing many, especially in the older missions, as at Nombre de Dios, where Father Balthazar Lopez baptized eighty in 1595. Father Pedro de Chozas had meanwhile, fearless of danger, penetrated to Ocute, 150 miles from the coast.[2]

The city of St. Augustine had by this time received a parish priest, Don Diego Scobar de Sambrana, whose register is still extant in Havana. It extends from January to July, 1594, from which date Father Francis Marron discharged the parochial functions till the feast of the Annunciation in 1597, when Don Ricardo Artur appears on the register as parish priest.[3]

In September, 1597, the son of the Cacique of the Island of Guale, wearying of the restraints on his passions required by the Christian law, fell into great excesses, and at last went off to a pagan band. Finding kindred spirits there he resolved to silence the priest who had reproved him, and returned by night to Father Corpa's village of Tolemato. Taking up his post near the church he waited for the dawn of day. When Father Corpa opened the door of his little cabin to proceed to the church, the conspirators tomahawked him, and cutting off his head set it on a pole. Having

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[1] Barcia, an. 1594, p. 167; Torquemada, "Monarquia Indiana," iii., p. 350.

[2] Testimony of Alonso de las Alas, 1602.

[3] "Noticias relativas á la Parroquial mayor de la ciudad de San Agustin de la Florida," kindly extracted for me from the Registers in his archives, by the Right Rev. Bishop of St. Christopher of Havana. The Registers of the Church of St. Augustine from January 1, 1594, are extant in Havana and St. Augustine, and form the oldest and most complete set of records in the country, antedating every English, Dutch, or Swedish settlement.

brought his comrades to imbrue their hands in blood, the young chief easily persuaded them that they must kill all the religious and Spaniards.[1]

Proceeding then to the town of Topoqui, they burst into the house of Father Blas Rodriguez. The missionary endeavored to show them the wickedness and folly of their conduct, which would entail punishment here and hereafter, but finding his words of no avail, he asked the Indians to allow him to say mass. They granted his request, moved by a respect which they could not understand; and the good priest, with his expectant murderers for his congregation, offered the holy sacrifice for the last time, and then knelt down before his altar to receive the death-blow which enabled him to make his thanksgiving in heaven. His body was piously interred by an old Christian Indian after the murderers had departed.

Learning of the approach of a band bent on massacre, Father Michael Auñon, at Asopo,[2] said mass and gave communion to Brother Anthony Badajoz, his companion. They knelt in prayer till the apostate came, who first dispatching the brother, then with two blows of one of their war-clubs crowned

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[1] The site of the present cemetery of St. Augustine was called Tolemato, but it cannot be the scene of Father Auñon's death, as he was on Amelia Island, and the murderer was the son of the chief of that same island. Contemporary writers, like Gov. Mendes de Canço, April 24, 1601, § 14, speak of the missionaries as being put to death in the province of Guale, which in the same report he declares to be forty leagues from St. Augustine. Stevens, "Hist. Georgia," i., p. 135, recognizes the identity of Santa Maria de Guale and Amelia Island.

[2] Asopo was nine and a half leagues from Asao. "Examination of Alonso de los Alas," 1602; Ecija in his "Derrotero," 1609, makes it ten and a half. It was north of 31° 30′, and is evidently Ossibaw Island. The bodies of F. Auñon and Br. Badajoz were taken up in 1605 and interred, apparently, at St. Augustine. Barcia, an. 1605.

Father Michael with martyrdom. The weeping Christians interred the bodies at the foot of the tall mission cross.

On reaching Asao[1] the insurgents found that Father Francis de Velascola had gone to St. Augustine, but they lurked amid the vegetation on the shore till they saw his canoe approaching. When the Franciscan landed they accosted him as friends, and fearing his great strength, seized him suddenly and slew him. Father Francis Davila, at Ospo,[2] endeavored to escape at night; but the moon revealed him, and he fell into their hands pierced by two arrows. An old Indian prevented their finishing the cruel work, and the missionary, stripped and suffering, was sent as a slave to a pagan village.

The revolted Indians, then in forty canoes, invested Saint Peter's (now Cumberland) Island,[3] but a small Spanish vessel lay at anchor there. This gave courage to the chief of the island, who, with a flotilla of canoes, met the invaders and completely routed them. Few escaped in their canoes; many driven ashore were killed, perished of hunger or by their own hands. After this fearful outburst of pagan hatred of Christianity, none of the Guale missionaries survived except Father Avila; and his owners, tiring of his presence, were about to burn him at the stake, when a woman, whose son was held prisoner in Saint Augustine, obtained him to effect an exchange, which the Spaniards readily made.

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[1] Asao was eleven or eleven and a half leagues from San Pedro, Las Alas and Ecija. This makes it, in all probability, St. Simon's Island.

[2] Ospo I do not find in the "Derroteros," but it must have been between St. Simon and Cumberland.

[3] San Pedro was seven or eight leagues from San Mateo (Las Alas, Ecija), and must be Cumberland Island; Stevens' "Georgia," i., p. 135. "A Relation of the Martyrs of Florida," by F. Luis Geronimo de Oré, a native of Peru, appeared in 1604, in quarto, but I have never been able to trace a copy of it. I follow Torquemada, "Monarquia Indiana," iii., pp. 350–2; Barcia, pp. 170–172.

On the 14th of March, 1599, the Convent of San Francisco, at Saint Augustine, was destroyed by fire, and till the building could be restored the Fathers occupied the Hermitage of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, which had previously been used as an hospital. The soldiers, Indians, and negroes soon felt the want of a place where they could be treated in sickness; and Governor Mendez de Canço, at his own expense, put up the Hospital of Santa Barbara, with six good beds. A curious question then arose; the king had granted the Hospital of Soledad five hundred ducats from the treasury, but the officials refused to pay it to the new hospital, and the governor was forced to appeal to the king.[1]

The earliest missions mentioned near Saint Augustine were those of Nombre de Dios, San Juan, and San Pedro, where missionaries were permanently stationed. The Indians were poor, but they cultivated corn, beans, and pumpkins; they depended less on hunting, and were instructed in religion, not only hearing mass and approaching the sacraments, but having confraternities, and zealous in seeking to have masses said for their deceased kindred.[2]

FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF FATHER FRANCIS PAREJA.

The missionary at San Juan was the learned Father Francis Pareja, whose labors were supported by Doña Maria, the woman chief of the province, and the chiefs of the towns.[3] This great missionary was born

[1] Governor Mendez de Canço to the king, April 24, 1601.

[2] Testimony of Bartolomé de Arguelles, 1602, and of Juan Menendez Marques.

[3] Letter of Governor Ibarra, 1604.

at Auñon, in the diocese of Toledo in Spain, and spent sixteen years in the study of the language of the Timuquan Indians. He was Guardian of the Convent of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady in St. Augustine, in 1612, when two Catechisms by him, in the Timuquan language, were printed at Mexico. A Confesonario was printed the same year and the next; a Grammar in 1614, and another Catechism in 1627. Besides these works he is said to have written treatises on Purgatory, Hell, and Heaven, one on the Rosary, and a book of Prayers. Three of these rare works are preserved in the New York Historical Society. He died in Mexico, January 25, 1628.[1]

In 1602 Governor Canço estimated the Christian Indians at about twelve hundred, the venerable Father Balthazar Lopez being stationed at the town of San Pedro, Father Francis Pareja in San Juan, and Father Peter Bermejo in Nombre de Dios, and Brother Viniegra at San Antonio, each of these places being resorted to by numbers of Indians in the neighborhood; Tocoy, Antonico, and Mayaca, with considerable Indian population, were regularly visited by the missionaries to say mass and enable the Indians to approach the sacraments, and by instructions keep up a knowledge of their religion.

In St. Augustine the church and convent of St. Francis had not been rebuilt, and the house used as a chapel was unfit for the purpose. The King of Spain had contributed eight hundred ducats towards rebuilding the church and convent; but beyond the collection of some material, nothing had been done to meet the wants of the people and the wishes of the

[1] Titles of his works are given in Pilling, "North American Linguistics," pp. 560–8. His birthplace is given in the Cathecismo of 1627, much better authority than the index to Torquemada, which says Castro Urdiales; or Barcia, p. 195, who says Mexico.

king.[1] The Spanish monarch had also ordered the tithes to be devoted to the parish church.

Everything was in a state of neglect; and the settlers, as well as the soldiers in the garrison, would at this time have been deprived of the consolations of religion but for the Franciscan Fathers; so that Governor Canço proposed that the Guardian of the Convent, on whom and his community the whole spiritual care of the place had devolved, should be made parish priest and chaplain of the fort.[2]

The vacancy in the parish church was filled, however, on the 20th of October, 1602, when Don Manuel Godiño appears as incumbent, remaining till 1607, assisted for a time by Don Vicente Freire Dandrade.

Meanwhile the Franciscans were joined by new missionaries of their order, and in the General Congregation held at Toledo, in 1603, the eleven convents in Florida, Havana, and Bayamo were erected into a custodia by Father Bernard de Salva, Commissary General of the Indies by patent of November 18, 1609; confirmed by royal order, June 5, 1610.[3] Father Peter Ruiz was the first custos.

The Franciscans re-entered Guale, and in November, 1606, established missions in the province of Potano, where, besides infants, more than a thousand adults received the sacrament of regeneration before the end of October, 1607, the missionaries travelling for days through swamps, often waist-high in water. The province of Apalache also called for missionaries, and a great field

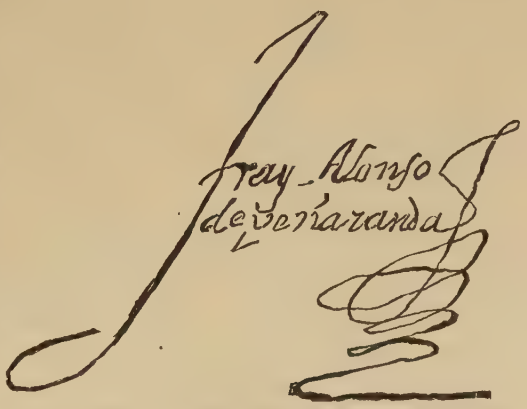
[1] Letter of Mendez de Canço to the king, September 22, 1602. There had been no chaplain in the fort for a year and a half.

[2] Letter of Governor Ybarra, January 8, 1604.

[3] Senate Report, March 21, 1848. The convents in Florida were St. Catharine, in the province of Guale; that on St. Peter's Island, San Juan del Puerto; St. Bonaventure, of Guadalquini; St. Dominic, of Asao; St. Anthony, of Guadulce; St. Ann, of Potano.

was opening there, and hopes were entertained of Tama and Ocute, to which Fathers Chozas and Berascula had penetrated.

The reports from Florida had, however, been so discouraging that King Philip III. proposed to abandon all idea of settling the country, intending merely to maintain a fort and to remove the Christian Indians to the island of St. Domingo. Against this step Father Pareja, who had become custos of Florida, and Father Alonso de Peñaranda, Guardian of the Convent at St. Augustine, most earnestly protested in a letter to the king.[1]




FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF FATHER ALONSO DE PEÑARANDA.

The Bishops of Santiago de Cuba had lamented the condition of Florida, and a visitation of that province was earnestly recommended, but many difficulties and dangers intervened. When Don Frai Juan Cabezas de Altamirano was appointed to the See, a visitation was one of the first duties to which he resolved to devote himself. In those days a bishop, whether in his cathedral or on a visitation, was surrounded by peril.

On arriving in Cuba this zealous bishop found his episcopal

[1] Letter from the Convent of the Immaculate Conception, St. Augustine, November 20, 1607.

city with its cathedral destroyed by French pirates, and while making a visitation of his diocese the next year, 1604, he was surprised by one of these marauders, Gilbert Giron, who held him as a prisoner and gave him liberty only when he had advanced an enormous ransom. The Spaniards, after thus obtaining the release of their bishop, rallied, attacked the corsairs, and utterly defeated them, killing their leader and most of his party. There is extant a curious contemporary poem on this whole episode. According to a document of 1607, the bishop embarked in that year from Bayamo "for the provinces of Florida as annexed to his diocese; he visited them and consoled that new Christianity, which owes its planting to the Franciscan religious, some of whom have had the incomparable happiness of witnessing in their blood to the truth of the gospel, which they preached with truly apostolical zeal. In fact the bishop fulfilled exactly his pastoral office, and was the first who discharged this obligation, and he came near being the only one, because, with the exception of Don Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderon, no other prelate has had the courage to undertake it." [1]

Fortunately we have some definite details of his visitation. On Holy Saturday, March 25, 1606, Bishop Cabezas de Altamirano administered the sacrament of confirmation to several candidates for holy orders. On subsequent days he confirmed many Spaniards and Indians. So far as any documents attest,

[1] This zealous bishop, who was perhaps the first to exercise episcopal functions within the present limits of the United States, was the son of the licentiate Juan Cabezas and of Doña Ana de Calzada. After a course in the University of Salamanca he took the habit of St. Dominic in 1583, and came to America nine years afterwards. He was professor of theology in Santo Domingo, and then delegate of the province to Rome. He was made Bishop of Cuba in 1603 and transferred to Guatemala in 1610. He died there of apoplexy in December, 1615. "Historia de la ysla y Catedral de Cuba," by Bishop Pedro Agustin Morel, MS.

this was the first administration of the sacrament of Confirmation in any part of this country. The good bishop visited several provinces of Florida with great hardship and peril of life, the condition of the natives exciting his deepest compassion and zeal.[1]

In the Lent of 1609 the great Cacique of Timucua, who had been instructed by the Franciscans, came to St. Augustine to solicit baptism for himself, his heir and ten of his chiefs, as well as to beg for missionaries to reside among his people and bring them all to the faith. They were all baptized on Palm Sunday, Governor Ybarra being sponsor for the cacique and his son, Spanish officers assuming the same charge for the chiefs. The whole ceremony was attended with all the solemnity the little town could impart to it. The Timuquans were entertained till after Easter, when they returned with a guard of honor.[2]

Poor as the country was the missionaries continued to come, thirty-one setting out from Spain for the Florida mission in 1612 and the following year. The custodia was then erected into the province of Santa Helena, the convent of Havana being the chief one, and Father John Capillas was elected the first provincial of this organization of regular clergy, mainly within our actual territory.[3]

For a time Saint Augustine also enjoyed the services of

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[1] "Noticias relativas á la Yglesia Parroquial de San Agustin de la Florida, trabajo hecho por disposicion del Excmo e Illmo Sr. D. Ramon Fernandez de Pierola y Lopez de Luzuriaga, Obispo de San Cristóbal de la Habana." Barcia says that Don Frai Antonio Diaz de Salcedo, Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, made a visitation of Florida in 1595; but no writer on the Bishops of Cuba mentions the fact, and the Register of St. Augustine is evidence against its probability.

[2] Letter of Governor Ybarra, April, 1609.

[3] Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," pp. 175, 181; Torquemada, "Monarquia Indiana," iii., pp. 350, 354.

several secular priests at the parish church and fort, Simon de Ayllon being parish priest, assisted by Don Pedro de la Camarda, chaplain of the fort, followed by Don Luis Perez as parish priest, and Alonso Ortiz, whose names appear till 1623.

Frai Alonso Henriquez Almendarez de Toledo of the Mercedarian Order for the Redemption of Captives had been appointed to the See of Santiago de Cuba in 1610. He was an active and energetic bishop, and found so much to engage his attention in the island of Cuba, where he was involved in disputes with the civil authorities, that he found it impossible to make a visitation of Florida, as he desired. He accordingly deputed in his stead Father Louis Jerome de Oré, lecturer in theology and commissary of the Franciscan Order, to make a visitation of Florida. This religious was a native of Peru and highly esteemed. He visited Saint Augustine November 13, 1616. He found the parish church well supplied with church plate, silver chalices, patens, cross, censer, boat and spoon of silver, and with suitable vestments, which, with the stocks for the holy oils, were well kept. The missals, manuals, bells, and choir books are also attested as being suitable, and the registers well kept by the actual parish priest, Juan de Lerdo.

In 1621, during the administration of Bishop Almendarez, the first provincial Council of St. Domingo was held, and its decrees extended to Florida.[1]

In 1630 the king, by a decree of December 4th, made especial provision for the maintenance of the Franciscan missions in Florida, ordering money to be drawn annually from

[1] "Historia de la isla y Catedral de Cuba par el Il$^{mo}$ Pedro Agustin Morel de Santa Cruz"; "Noticias relativas á la Iglesia parroquial de San Agustin para el Il$^{mo}$ S$^{r}$ D. Ramon Fernandez de Pierola y Lopez de Luzuriaga, Obispo de la Habana."

Mexico to purchase clothing and supplies.[1] More missionaries had been petitioned for by Father Francisco Alonzo of Jesus, Provincial of Florida, but he obtained only twelve; and of these one died on the voyage from Spain, and two were left sick at Havana. The missionaries sank rapidly under their labors, five of them dying in Florida in the next five years. The Franciscans in 1634 numbered thirty-five, maintaining forty-four doctrinas or missions, in which they reckoned thirty thousand converted Indians.

The Rev. Alonso de Vargas and Rev. Toribio de Pozada kept up the succession of parish priests till 1631, with Bartolomé Garcia as chaplain, but much parochial work was done by the Guardians of the Franciscan Convent, Melchor Ferraz and Juan Gomez de Palma; a teniente de cura, or temporary substitute, acting in 1632 and 1633, and Don Antonio Calvo, chaplain of the fort, supplying the place of Rev. Mr. de Pozada till April, 1640.[2]

The missionaries were far apart, unable to relieve each other; and when any one wished himself to approach the sacred tribunal he had a weary journey afoot, through everglade and streams, to reach a brother priest. Several broke down under the severe labors, so that the Apalaches, who earnestly sought clergy to instruct them, were deferred till the Guardian of the Convent at Saint Augustine set out in person, in 1633, with a single assistant. The custos of Florida, writing in February, 1635, states that the zealous missionary was still there, and had baptized five thousand of the tribe. In the south of Florida the Indians of Carlos and Matacumbe were again soliciting missionaries with every mark of sincerity.[3] The king, in reply to the appeal for more

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[1] Barcia, p. 197.

[2] "Noticias."

[3] Letter of F. Francisco Alonso de Jesus to the king.

evangelical laborers, ordered eight to be sent.[1] The Apalaches, harassed by the Choctaws, Apalachicolas, and other tribes, looked for protection to the Spaniards and their allies. In 1639 the Apalache Chief of Cupayca came to Saint Augustine to be instructed and baptized. At the sacred font he received the name of Balthazar, Governor Damian de Vega Castro being his godfather. When he left the town he took with him a Franciscan Father, who was to found a mission in his tribe.[2] To open intercourse with these new stations the Spaniards, for the first time, sent vessels to coast around the peninsula from St. Augustine. Yet there were occasional difficulties between whites and Indians, and we find soon after a Governor of Florida compelling the Indians near the town to work on the fortifications, in punishment for some outbreak.[3]

In 1646 St. Augustine had about three hundred people, and a flourishing community of fifty Franciscan religious scattered through Florida, who not only labored among the Indians, but did much to maintain piety among the Spaniards. Besides them there were in St. Augustine the Cura Vicario, or parish priest, Don Pedro Verdugo de la Silveyra (April, 1640–47),[4] the Sacristan Mayor, and Antonio Calvo, the chaplain of the fort, who in 1647 became temporary parish priest. There were not enough secular clergy to attend to all the whites. The parish church was still of wood, both walls and roof, and Bishop de la Torre was unable to replace it by a better one—his whole income from Florida being $400, more than which he expended on the province. There was, also, the Hospital of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, and

[1] Memorandum on letter just cited. Letter of Salinas and Sanchez; Barcia, p. 203.

[2] Letter of Governor Castro, August 22, 1639. [3] Barcia, p. 204.

[4] "Noticias" kindly furnished by the Bishop of Havana.

one for the poor, and the Hermitage or Chapel of Santa Barbara. Piety was kept alive among the people by the confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, and one for the Faithful Departed. The people naturally gathered around the chapel of the Franciscans, finding encouragement there for their devotion.

In that year Father Francis Perez, the custos, obtained several additional Fathers for the Indian missions.[1]

All felt the want of a bishop—the visits of the one who occupied the See of Santiago de Cuba being rare, owing to the danger of the passage on account of storms, and of the pirates who infested the coast. Don Diego de Rebolledo, Governor of Florida in 1655, strongly urged the King of Spain to ask the Sovereign Pontiff to erect Saint Augustine into an Episcopal See, or at least to make Florida a Vicariate Apostolic (Abadia), so that there might be a local Superior, and that the faithful there might receive the sacrament of confirmation, of which many died deprived. The King and the Council of the Indies asked the opinion of the Archbishop of Santo Domingo, the Bishop of Cuba, the Governor of Havana, and others, but there the matter ended.

Of the Indian missions and their extent at that time we can glean some idea. The centre was the Convent of the Immaculate Conception in Saint Augustine, where the guardian resided with two lay brothers. This was the refuge of missionaries overcome by sickness at their posts. The nearest missionary was at Nombre de Dios, about a mile from the city. Our Lady of Guadalupe was about ten miles distant, and San Juan del Puerto was on the sea. Thence along the coast northward were San Pedro del Mocarno, San Buenaventura de Goadalquibi, Santo Domingo de Talege, San Jose de

[1] Juan Diaz de la Calle, "Noticias Sacras y Reales"; Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," p. 212.

Zapala, Santa Catalina de Guale, and San Felipe, the last fifty-four leagues from St. Augustine. The most northerly on the coast was Chatuache, six leagues further.[1]

In another direction were Santiago de Oconé, Santa Cruz de Tarica, San Agustin de Urica, Santa Maria de los Angeles de Arapaja, Santa Cruz de Cachipile, San Yldefonso de Chamini, San Francisco de Chuaqun, San Pedro y San Pablo de Potuturiba, Santa Elena de Machaba, San Miguel de Asile, ranging from thirty to sixty leagues from the capital.

In the Apalache country were the missions of San Lorenzo, Concepcion, San Jose, San Juan, San Pedro y San Pablo, San Cosme y San Damian, San Luis, San Martin; and between Apalache and Saint Augustine were San Martin de Ayaocuto, Santa Fe de Toloco, San Francisco de Potano.

Southward lay Santa Lucia de Acuera, San Antonio de Nacape, San Salvador de Mayaca, San Diego de Laca. At each one of these there was a missionary stationed, and the Christian Indians of Florida were then reckoned at 26,000.[2]

But the missions were to receive the first blow from the civil authorities. The Governor of Florida sent orders to the Cacique of Tarigica, an Apalache, that the chiefs of that

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[1] Of the missions on the coast here mentioned, several were visited by Dickenson and his party after their shipwreck. Santa Cruz was two or three leagues from St. Augustine. It had a friar and a large chapel with five bells, and the Indians were as regular and attentive at their devotions as the Spaniards. There was besides a large council-house. San Juan, thirteen leagues further, on an island, was a large, populous town, with friar and chapel, the people industrious, with abundance of hogs, poultry, and corn. St. Mary's had a friar, church, and the Indian boys were kept at school. Santa Catalina was ruined; but he mentions it October 10, 1699, "where had been a great settlement of Indians, for the land was cleared for planting some miles distant."

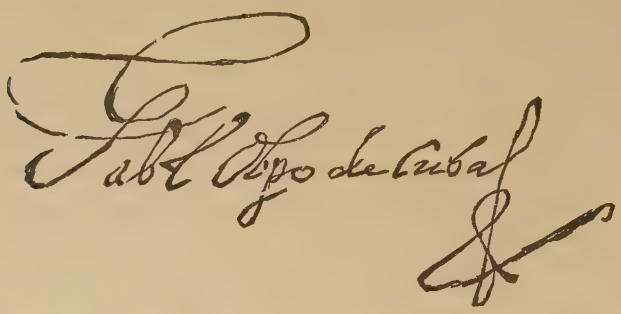
[2] "Memoria de las Poblaciones Principales, Yglesias y Dotrinas que ay en las Combersiones de las Provincias de la Florida a cargo de los Religiosos de San Francisco," MS.

tribe should repair to Saint Augustine, and that each one must carry in person a certain load of corn. The chiefs refused, saying that there were vassals whom the governor might order. They were not slaves because they obeyed the Holy Gospel and Law of God; they had become Christians of their own accord; they had been conquered only by the Word of God and what the missionaries had taught them. When the Spaniards attempted to force the chiefs to submit to the degradation, an insurrection broke out, in which some Spaniards were slain. The governor took the field against the great chief of Apalache, and several engagements were fought. The governor finally captured and hung six or seven chiefs. This war, provoked by Spanish oppression, completely broke up the missions among the Indians of that nation. The Franciscan Fathers, unable to exercise any beneficial influence over the Apalaches, whose minds were bitterly excited, embarked for Havana to await better times; but they were all drowned on the passage, completing their own sacrifice, but depriving Florida of all religious teachers skilled in the Apalache tongue.[1]

The parish of Saint Augustine, about this time, was placed on another footing. After Don Lorenzo de Solis, who, besides styling himself Cura and Vicario, adds the title of Ecclesiastical Judge, the Church was made a benefice to be acquired as property, according to a custom unfortunately prevailing. In 1650 Don Pedro Juan de la Oliva began as beneficed proprietor and vicar, and held the position till 1661, replaced during an apparent absence in 1653, and the year following, by Don Pedro Bernaldez as vicar. He was succeeded, for five years, by Christopher Boniface de Rivera, not as proprietor, but as beneficed parish priest.

[1] Letter of Father John Gomez de Engraba, who had been forty-six years on the Florida mission, dated March 13 and April 4, 1657.

When Don Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderon became Bishop of Santiago de Cuba on the 14th of December, 1671, he wished to examine the affairs of the Church in Florida, and deputed Don Francisco de Sotolongo[1] as visitor; but as the Franciscans raised objections to his authority, the bishop commissioned Father Juan Moreno Pizarro, and Father Joseph Varredo as secretary, to make a visitation in his name.[2] The result seems to have convinced Bishop Calderon of the necessity of a personal visitation. Having made his arrangements in the early part of the year to leave Cuba, he embarked at



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF BP. GABRIEL DIAZ VARA CALDERON.

Havana on the 18th of August, 1674, convoyed by a fleet, and on the 23d entered the harbor of Saint Augustine. The next day he began the visitation. Unfortunately we have but a part of the record of his episcopal labors, yet enough to show that the visitation was not a mere form. He cel-

[1] Sotolongo was cura propietario of San Agustin, 1666–1674, his duties being discharged from 1671–4 by Antonio Lorenzo de Padilla, the chaplain of the fort. "Noticias." We reproduce part of a view of St. Augustine, published at Amsterdam in 1671, "De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld of Beschryving van America," by Arnold Montanus. If it is based on any authentic sketch, the church shown is apparently the parish church, not the chapel of Nuestra Señora de la Leche, north of the fort.

[2] "Memorial en Derecho" of Don Juan Ferro Machado.

FORT AND CHURCH AT SAINT AUGUSTINE. FROM MONTANUS, 1671.

ebrated a pontificial high mass on the 24th of August in the ancient city, which had already celebrated its first centenary; gave minor orders to seven young men, sons of respected citizens—and this is the first recorded instance of the conferring of the sacrament of Holy Orders within the present limits of the United States; gave a thousand dollars in alms to poor widows, who were reluctant to make known their necessities, created or increased by a hurricane that inundated most of the city on the 17th.

After making a formal visitation of the parish church on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, where he was received by the parish priest, Bachelor Sebastian Perez de la Cerda, the bishop visited on the 39th the parish church, "Doctrine" of the Native Indians in the city and suburbs, which was attached to the Convent of Saint Francis. Here he was received by Father Antonio de Urchia, Commissary Visitor; Father Francis Perete, Provincial; Father Alonso del Moral, Custos and ex-Provincial.

He then issued an edict requiring all who had Indians in their employ to send them within twenty-four hours to be examined as to their knowledge of Christian doctrine. The zealous bishop found such ignorance prevailing that on the 7th of October he promulgated at the high mass an edict requiring, under the penalty of excommunication, the Franciscan Fathers versed in the Timuquan, Apalaçhe, and Guale languages, to hold a catechism class for Indians every Sunday and holiday, to which all masters were to send their Indian servants, under penalty of excommunication and a fine of twenty ducats. The masters were forbidden to force their Indian servants to work on Sundays and holidays, and this edict was to be read every Sunday in the parish church at high mass.[1]

[1] Entry of visitation in Registers of St. Augustine.

All the coasting vessels in the port of St. Augustine had been destroyed or shattered by the great hurricane, so that the bishop was unable at first to visit the missions in the province of Guale, but he confirmed the Indians of Guale and Mocana whom he could reach.

There were nine confraternities in the city—those of the Blessed Sacrament, True Cross, Our Lady of the Rosary, Our Lady of Soledad, San Telmo, the Faithful Departed, St. Patrick, the Conception, and Our Lady of the Milk at Nombre de Dios, a suburb of the city. These he visited, as well as the hospital, the resources and expenditures of which he examined carefully.

About the middle of October, undeterred by the rains, crossing rivers in canoes lashed together, the bishop reached Santa Fe, the chief mission and centre of the Timuquan nation, and gave confirmation to all who had been prepared for that sacrament. Thence we can trace his visitation as far as Taragica, in the Apalache country.[1]

The zealous bishop spent eight months in his laborious and thorough visitation, correcting many abuses and suppressing irregularities that had grown up. His desire to restore the discipline of the church excited opposition, for an attempt was made to take his life by poison. He founded churches in Florida, providing for their maintenance, supplied others with vestments, and gave liberal alms to the Indian chiefs

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[1] "Relacion de viage por Don Pedro Palacios, secretario de visita." Sebastian Perez de la Cerda, proprietary parish priest from 1674 to his death at the end of 1682, received Bishop Calderon. He was replaced by Mark Gonzales as pastor ad interim and vicar in 1681–2. He was succeeded as parish priest and vicar ad interim by Joseph de la Mota, the chaplain of the troops, who was also Commissary of the Crusade, and Minister of the Holy Office, 1684–5.

and their people. He expended no less than eleven thousand dollars among the faithful of this part of his diocese.[1]

As a fruit of this visit, we find the missions of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, and another among the Choctaws, that of the Assumption among the Caparaz, Amacanos, and Chines, founded in 1674, and those of Candelaria among the Tamas, and the Nativity of Our Lady in the following year. Father Pedro de Luna was then at Guadalquini on the Georgia coast; Pedro de la Lastra at San Felipe; Diego Bravo at San Juan del Puerto; Bernabe de los Angeles at Santa Cathalina, now St. Catharine's; John Baptist Campaña at St. Joseph de Sapala, now Sapelo; Juan de Useda at Asao,[2] from which it is evident that the missions were still maintained nearly to the new English settlements in Carolina; and that the good bishop must have actually reached South Carolina in his visitation. The number confirmed by him, which, of course, included many adults, is stated by the Bishop to have been 13,152. This agrees with the Catholic population given by the missionaries about that time.[3] The next year Father Alonso Moral, in spite of great opposition, reached Florida with twenty-four Franciscans for the Indian missions.[4] One missionary went to the province of Carlos, but the governor, Don Pablo de Hita, was so earnest to have greater effort made there, that the Licentiate Sebastian Perez de la Cerda, then parish priest and Vicar of Saint Augustine, induced some secular priests in Havana to offer their services.[5] The

[1] Letter of Bishop Calderon to Don Juan de Mendoza Escalante, June 8, 1675. He confirmed 630 whites, 1,510 Indians.

[2] Apparently St. Simon's Island. See ante, p. 155.

[3] The bishop's entry of his visitation at St. Augustine is September 8, 1674.

[4] Distances of the Missions, MS., 1675. Letter of Bishop Calderon, June 8, 1675.

[5] Barcia, 1676, p. 231.

king gave directions for the selection of worthy priests, making appropriation for their expenses to Florida, and a yearly salary of one hundred and fifteen ducats, but the officials in Cuba raised so many difficulties that the whole project failed,[1] though the learned Doctor Don Juan de Cisneros, the oldest canon of the Cathedral, a learned, virtuous, and charitable priest, offered to go.[2]

In 1680 the Indians of the mission of Mascarasi, just under the walls of St. Augustine, complained to the newly-arrived governor, Don Juan Marquez Cabrera, of their treatment by their missionary. The affair, trifling in itself, led to contentions which for years troubled the peace of the Church in Florida. The Provincial making no reply to the Governor's request to examine into the matter, the case was carried to the Commissary of the Indies and to the King. A royal decree of September 27, 1681, required the Commissary to enjoin on his subjects to correct the Indians with gentle and mild means, without exasperating them, the better to win souls to the service of God, and to perseverance in their instructions. It moreover declared that the Indians must be paid for all work; and all must obey the ordinances of the Commissary-General of the Indies.[3]

The King of Spain, finding that no Synod had been held in the diocese of Cuba from the time of its erection, although one had been convoked by Bishop Almendarez, had, by a decree of March 13, 1673, directed Bishop Calderon to con-

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[1] Barcia, 1679, p. 234.

[2] Barcia, 1680, pp. 239, 240, 245.

[3] Barcia—1681, p. 243; 1682, p. 245,—speaks of the death of a Bishop of Santiago de Cuba in 1681–2, and Gams, "Series Pontificorum," p. 146, makes Bishop Juan Garcia de Palacios die June 1, 1682; but this is impossible, for the Diocesan Synod in June, 1684, was held by Bishop Palacios, who signs the statutes. "Synodo Diocesano" (Ed. 1844), p. 186.

voke one; but that zealous bishop, who wished first to know his diocese by a thorough visitation, and who completed the cathedral, apparently with a view to such an ecclesiastical assembly, died March 16, 1676. His successor, Don Juan Garcia de Palacios, convoked a diocesan synod, which was opened in Havana on Whitsunday, 1684. The Constitutions signed June 16th have continued in force in Cuba to this day, and obtained in Florida as long as that province remained under the Spanish flag.

The Synod recognized and put in force in the diocese the decrees of the Council of Santo Domingo, passed September 21, 1622, Florida belonging to that ecclesiastical province, and so remaining till the erection of Santiago de Cuba into a metropolitan see in 1803.

The Constitutions provide for the instruction of the young in Christian doctrine, one constitution inculcating the duty on heads of families, as others do on pastors and teachers. Confraternities were regulated and many suppressed. Improper dances and amusements were prohibited, and care taken to prevent religious holidays from being transformed into wild and lawless merrymakings. Provision was made for the erection of a diocesan seminary in Havana, to which the See was then about to be transferred. The conferring of the Sacraments of Holy Orders and Extreme Unction were next regulated. Elaborate rules were adopted for ecclesiastical courts. The duties of parish priests and head sacristans, of collectors of offerings in churches, and of visitors appointed by the bishop or chapter, were prescribed.

The inalienability of church property is distinctly laid down. "The goods and property held by churches are dedicated to the divine worship, and to rob them is sacrilege; and that no occasion may be given to commit it, and at the same time to attest the goods held by churches, and which

cannot be usurped or alienated," the dean and chapter of the cathedral and all parish priests were required to have an authentic book, in which all houses, farms, and other property belonging to churches should be recorded, and also a record of all vestments, plate, and other articles, and in the divine service or the adornment of the altar (Title iv., Const. i.–iv.). The right of sanctuary enjoyed by churches was also maintained (Title xiv., Const. i.–vii.). Other constitutions related to wills, funerals, the sacraments of penance and matrimony.

The holidays of obligation established were the Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, St. Mathias, St. Joseph, the Annunciation, St. Philip and St. James, the Finding of the Holy Cross, St. Ferdinand, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. James, St. Christopher, St. Ann, St. Laurence, the Assumption, St. Bartholomew, St. Augustine, St. Rose, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, St. Matthew, St. Michael, St. Simon and St. Jude, All Saints, St. Andrew, the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, St. Thomas, Christmas, St. Stephen, St. John, Holy Innocents and St. Sylvester, Easter Monday and Tuesday, Ascension, Whitmonday and Tuesday, Corpus Christi. Those who lived more than three miles from a church or chapel, and not more than three leagues, were to hear mass once a fortnight; those within ten leagues, every month, and so on; those who lived sixty or seventy leagues distant being required to hear mass at least once a year (Lib. ii., Tit. i., Const. i.–vi.).

After Easter Sunday the parish priest was required to visit every house, and see all who lived there to be sure that they had approached the sacraments. A certificate was given to each communicant, and a list had to be taken to the bishop within a specified time. The parish priests in Florida were to come by the first vessel sailing to Cuba (Lib. i., Tit. vii., Const. iv.).

The fasting days were the Ember days, all days of Lent except Sundays, the vigils of Whitsunday, St. Mathias, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. James, St. Laurence, the Assumption, St. Bartholomew, St. Matthew, St. Simon and St. Jude, All Saints, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, and Christmas (Lib. iii., Tit. xiii., Const. i.). Fridays and Saturdays were days of abstinence.

A special title was devoted to Florida, the provinces of which the Synod declared had been intrusted to the bishop by the Apostolic See and by the Spanish monarch, and which belonged to that bishopric. The game of ball among the Indians as connected with superstitious usages was forbidden; married Indian men were not to be kept in St. Augustine away from their wives; it appearing that many were in the habit of living there as hunters, carpenters, etc., the parish priest and his vicar were to see that they returned to their own villages; Indians employed in or near the city were to have every opportunity to hear mass on Sundays and holidays, and were to be sent to the Franciscan Convent to hear mass and receive instruction in Christian doctrine.

The Indian Catholics were not obliged to observe the same holidays as the whites, the obligation extending only to the Sundays, Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Ascension, Corpus Christi, St. Peter and St. Paul, Assumption, All Saints, and Christmas, as they were relieved from the others by Bulls of the Sovereign Pontiffs.[1] They were obliged to fast only on Fridays in Lent, Holy Saturday, and Christmas Eve. Religious were not to hear confessions or administer the sacraments till they received faculties from the bishop, and were not to leave their missions for more

[1] Bull "Altitudo Divini Consilii" of Pope Paul III., June 1, 1537. Hernaez, "Coleccion," i., pp. 65–7; "Bullarium de Propaganda Fide," App. i., p. 25. This does not include All Saints.

than two months at a time; were to be assiduous in catechising, teaching the boys every day, and, where possible, in Spanish. Indian converts instructed in the Christian doctrine were to receive communion at Easter and other convenient seasons, and certificates of having fulfilled their Paschal duty were to be given to them. Registers were to be kept of Indian baptisms, marriages, and funerals, and the Franciscan Fathers were not to serve the whites except in special cases. Nor were whites to endeavor to collect money due from Indians who came to church. This and other abuses were prohibited by royal orders of June 1, 1672, and August 2, 1678. The Florida title ends thus: "And obeying another royal order of May 21, 1678, in which his majesty, with his Catholic piety, charges us that we should, on our part, watch with all attention and vigilance for the relief and good treatment of the Indians, we most affectionately admonish the said missionaries to treat them well and charitably, and not to consent that any person, ecclesiastical or secular, should maltreat them in word or deed, using due effort in all cases, in a matter so important to the service of God and his majesty, wherewith we charge them in conscience" (Lib. iv., Tit. v.).[1]

Spain, although she found that Florida could not be self-subsisting, not being fitted for raising wheat or cattle, neglected to plant settlements on the Chesapeake, where shell-fish and wild-fowl would have proved a resource. She allowed the English to plant that district and at last extend their settlements to the country immediately north of Saint Helena Sound. As the new English colony of Carolina

[1] "Synodo Diocesana, que de orden de S. M. celebró el ilustrisimo Señor Doctor Don Juan Garcia de Palacios, Obispo de Cuba, en Junio de mil seiscientos ochenta y cuatro." There are three editions, the first about 1688; the second at Havana, 1816; the third, Havana, 1844.

grew, it became a menace to Florida, and the result was not long delayed.

The Bishop of Cuba used every exertion to have the royal orders in regard to the mission of secular priests in Florida carried out; but all efforts failed. The Governor Juan Marquez Cabrera was by no means fitted for the difficult crisis in the affairs of the peninsula.

On the Atlantic coast, seeing the missions menaced, the governor endeavored to persuade the converted Indians of the towns of San Felipe, San Simon, Santa Catalina, Sapala, Tupichi, Asao, Obaldaquini, and other missions, to remove to the islands of Santa Maria, San Juan, and Santa Cruz. His plan may have been wise, but it was not carried out with judgment. The Indians refused to go, and revolting, abandoned their missions. Some fled to the woods, others to English territory. The missionaries in 1684 used every means of persuasion and promises to induce the Jamaços, or Yamassees, of the Guale province to remain; but they went over to the English, followed by other tribes. Aided by their new friends with arms, and doubtless at their instigation, these Indians the next year suddenly and unexpectedly invaded the Spanish territory of Timuqua, sacked the mission of Santa Catalina, carried off all the vestments, plate, and other articles from the church and Franciscan convent, killed many of the Catholic Indians, burned the town, and retired loaded with plunder, and Indians to sell as slaves to the settlers of Carolina.[1]

[1] Barcia, 1687, p. 287; Ayeta, "La Verdad Defendida," fol. 213. Obaldaquini is apparently Gualaquini or Jykill island. San Felipe was six leagues, and Mocama island, occupied by the Yamassees, was three leagues from it. MS. Statement of Missions in 1675. Chatuache or Satuache was sixty leagues from St. Augustine, and was the most northerly town attended by the missionaries. "Memoria de las Poblaciones, 1655," MS.

This mission of St. Catharine, the most important one in the province of Guale, was evidently on the island that still bears that name, on the coast of Georgia. In 1675, with the dependent town of Satuache, it was attended by Father Bernabe de los Angeles; St. Joseph's mission being at Sapala, now Sapelo island, and St. Dominic's at Asao, or St. Simon's island.

The aggressive fanaticism of English colonists was thus arrayed against Catholicity in Florida. The destruction of St. Catharine's church and convent opens a new era.

Don Juan Marques Cabrera when governor treated the Apalaches with great severity, and his adjutant, Antonio Matheo, burnt several of their towns, the Indians flying to the woods or seeking refuge with other nations.

When Don Diego de Quiroga y Lossada was appointed he adopted a more conciliatory policy. The great Cacique of the Carlos Keys sent his son, the heathen Indians of Vasisa River asked for missionaries, and Franciscans were sent to several of the Christian towns. A better feeling soon prevailed throughout the peninsula, and there are extant letters to the King of Spain, one written by the Apalache chiefs,[1] and the other by those of the Timuquan nation,[2] expressing their satisfaction with the missionaries and the governor.

The documents are curious as evidence that the chiefs in Spanish Florida, at that time, were able to write their names.

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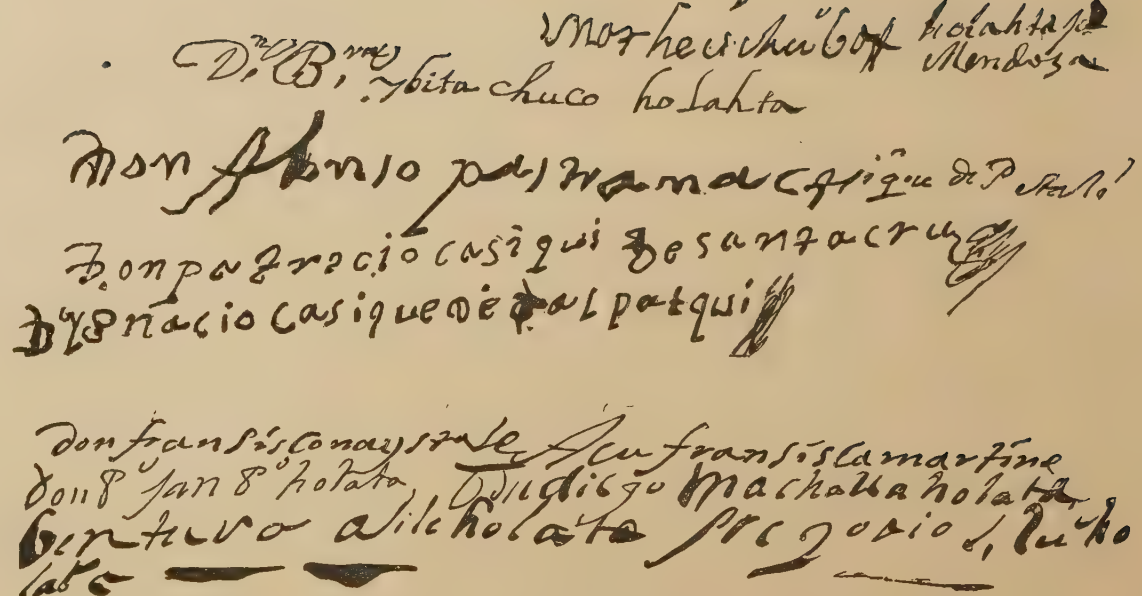
[1] Don Matheo Chuba; Chief Juan Mendoza; Don Bentura, Chief of Ibitachuco; Don Alonso Pastrana, Chief of Pattali; Don Patricio, Chief of Santa Cruz; Don Ignacio, Chief of Tulpatqui.

[2] Don Francisco, Chief of San Matheo; Don Pedro, Chief of San Pedro; Don Bentura, Chief of Asile; Don Diego, Chief of Machaua; Gregorio, Chief of San Juan de Guacara; Francisco Martinez.

Fac-similes of the signatures are given at page 180. The word "holahta" means "Chief."



FAC-SIMILES OF SIGNATURES OF CATHOLIC CHIEFS OF APALACHE AND TIMUQUA.

Reports of Indian discontent, and appeals for better ecclesiastical government in Florida, induced the King of Spain, in 1687, to direct the newly appointed Bishop of Cuba, Don Diego Evelino de Compostela, to dispatch all urgent business as soon as possible after reaching his diocese, and then proceed to the provinces of Florida and make a complete visitation. Finding, however, that the affairs of Cuba would require his attention for a considerable time, the bishop (January 7, 1688) appointed a learned Cuban priest, the Bachelor Don Juan Ferro Machado, his visitor-general of the provinces of Florida. Br. Ferro Machado proceeded to Florida at his own expense, with his secretary, Bachelor Joseph Manuel Aleman y Hurtado, and was received at St. Augustine, as the bishop's representative, by Rev. Joseph Perez de la Mota, the parish priest and vicar; but the Franciscan Fathers would not permit him to make a visitation of their houses and missions, as he was not the bishop or a religious of their order empowered for the purpose, citing in justification a royal order of December 21, 1595. The parish church in St. Augustine was visited by him February 20, 1688. It was still only a wooden structure, poorly fitted up, and the clergy with but scanty means to give dignity to the worship of God.[1]

The report of Don Juan Ferro Machado drew forth a work by Father Francis Ayeta in which he denied that Florida was part of the diocese of Cuba, and questioned the bishop's authority to send a delegate to make a visitation of their houses. He reviewed the whole question at great length, with a vast array of authorities, and controverted some statements of the visitor-general, especially in relation to the mis-

[1] Machado, "Memorial en derecho al Rei," 22 leaves, fol. 1688. Barcia, pp. 294, 300. Entry in the Register of St. Augustine. The chapel in the fort at Saint Augustine, begun about this time, is one of the oldest Catholic chapels in the country.

sion of San Salvador de Mayaca, which had been removed by the Franciscans. Father Ayeta asserted that its location was so unhealthy that the people and their missionary, Father Bartholomew de Quiñones, were constantly sick; that the provincial, in consequence, sent his secretary, Father Salvador Bueno, who selected a healthy site, which pleased the Indians, so that he attracted others and made many converts.[1]

[1] F. Francisco Ayeta, "La Verdad Defendida," a folio of 227 leaves. Ayeta was a prolific writer, whose pen was employed by his Order in several similar controversies. He wrote also the "Crisol de la Verdad," 1693, against Bishop Palafox of Puebla in Mexico; "Ultimo Recurso" (1694) on questions raised in Yucatan; "Defensa de la Verdad" (1689) against the Bishop of Guadalajara; "Discurso Legal" against the Bishop of Quito, 1699. See as to him F. Marcellino da Civezza, "Bibliografia Francescana," pp. 29–30.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE CHURCH IN NEW MEXICO, 1581–1680.

We have traced the history of the Church in the English colonies to 1690, and seen what she had accomplished in Florida till the same time. In another part of our present domain the Church had also labored, and not in vain. The year 1690 beheld there, indeed, naught but ruined churches and slaughtered priests; but there is a century of evangelical labor to chronicle, and the check sustained by the Church in her holy work was but a temporary one.

After the martyrdom of Father Padilla and his companion, no further effort was made in the direction of New Mexico till the year 1581. A fervent Franciscan lay brother, Augustine Rodriguez, full of mortification, prayer, and zeal, had been sent at his own request to Zacatecas. From that point he penetrated northward, and found tribes who received him with every mark of good-will. He returned, expecting to induce his superiors to found a mission there. But the laborers were few, and the good lay brother retired to a convent in the valley of San Bartolomé, where he prayed, mortified himself, and waited for the Lord. Three Indians came to tell him of civilized tribes to the north who lived in houses. He journeyed far enough to be convinced of the fact, and then made his way to Mexico to implore his superiors to do something for these starving souls. His pleading was not in vain; two young priests of the order—Father Francis Lopez, who had come from the Franciscan province

of Andalusia, and Father John of St. Mary, a Catalan—were assigned to the work. They set out from the mines of Santa Barbara, June 6, 1581, escorted by eight soldiers, who with their leader, Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado, volunteered to protect the missionaries. Passing through wild tribes the brave religious came to the country of the Pueblo Indians. They gave the province the name of New Mexico, which it has borne for three centuries. The Tiguas, first to receive these Christian teachers, showed a disposition to listen to their words, so that Brother Augustine and his companions resolved to begin their mission there. Chamuscado and his men, after making some exploration, left the missionaries in apparent security in December, and journeyed back. For a time the mission prospered, and the field seemed so wide that Father John set out for Mexico to obtain other religious, with requisites for a permanent mission. Skilled in astronomy, and trusting to the guidance of the stars, he took a new route, crossing the Salinas and bearing straight for the Rio Grande. While sleeping one day by the wayside he was discovered by some Tigua Indians, of a town subsequently called San Pablo, who crushed his head with a huge stone, and then burned his body. Father Lopez and Brother Augustine had remained at a Pueblo town, with three Indian boys and a half-breed, earnestly endeavoring to acquire the language, so as to be able to instruct the people in the doctrines of the gospel. One day a band from an unfriendly tribe entered the town and began quarreling with the people. Father Lopez reproved them, but they became furious at his censure, and turning upon him made his body a target for their arrows. The second of the priests thus laid down his life. Brother Augustine buried the body of Father Lopez in the town, and courageously resumed his labors; but his Indian comrades took alarm and fled. One was slain, but the other

reached a Spanish post to tell of the death of Father Lopez, and his fears that the good Brother had perished also, because he heard shouts and yells behind him when he escaped. It is said that some of the chiefs endeavored to save Brother Augustine, but others wished to rid themselves of an importunate monitor, and he was ere long dispatched. Father Zarate Salmeron, writing in 1626, says that he was killed by two blows of a macana or wooden war-club, as his skull showed, and as the Indians of the town of Poala confessed; for there were many still alive who witnessed his death, and revealed where his body was buried beside the grave he had dug for Father Lopez.[1]

The report of the soldiers filled the Franciscan Fathers on the frontier with alarm. Father Bernardine Beltran in vain sought men brave enough to accompany him in search of his valiant brethren, till at last a rich, brave, and pious gentleman, Don Antonio Espejo, resolved to go, and gathered a party of fourteen stout men for the purpose. He set out from the valley of San Bartolomé, November 10, 1582, with

[1] Brother Augustine Rodriguez was a native of the county of Niebla, in Spain, and entered the Franciscan Order in Mexico. The place where Father John Mary perished cannot be identified; but Poala, or Puaray, where Brother Rodriguez and Father Lopez were killed, must have been near, if not between, the present pueblos of Sandia and Isleta, as is evident from the itinerary of Espejo. The earliest account of these missionaries is in an "Itinerario del Nuevo Mundo," appended to the "Historia de las Cosas mas Notables, Ritos y Costumbres del gran Reyno de la China," by Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza, published at Madrid in 1586. See also Zarate Salmeron, "Relacion de las Cosas que en el Nuevo Mexico," Mexico, 1856, pp. 9–10; Villagrá, "Historia de la Nueva Mexico," pp. 35, 126, 137; Torquemada, "Monarquia Indiana," iii., pp. 359, 626–8; Arlegui, "Cronica de la Provincia de Zacatecas," Mexico, 1737–1851, pp. 212–217; Fernandez, "Historia Ecclesiastica de Nuestros Tiempos," 1611, pp. 57–8; "Testimonio dado in Mejico sobre el descubrimiento de doscientos leguas adelante de las minas de Sª Barbara"; "Colec. de Doc. Inéditos," xv., p. 80; "Testimony of Pedro Bustamente," p. 81.

Father Beltran. Passing through the Indian tribes of the Conchos, Passaguates, Tobosos, Jumanas, or Patarabueyes, he finally reached Poala only to be assured of the assassination of the missionaries. The guilty Indians fled at his approach.

Finding himself baffled in the pious object of his expedition, Espejo resolved to explore the country before he returned. He visited the Maguas, where Father John de Santa Maria was killed, the Queres, the Curiames, whose chief town was Zia, and the Amejes, Acoma, and Zuñi. At the last-named town he found three Christian Indians who had been left by Coronado. Father Beltran set out from Zuñi for Mexico, but Espejo visited Moqui before his return.

Permission to occupy New Mexico was solicited by Espejo, but he lacked influence to support his well-earned claim. More fortunate than he, Captain Castañon obtained the consent of the Viceroy. Following the attempt of Lomas, he entered New Mexico with a small force, some families to settle, and droves of cattle, sheep, and goats, but when after advancing a considerable distance into the country he sent back for reinforcements, the Viceroy recalled him and confided the conquest of the country to Juan de Oñate.[1] An attempt was made, however, in defiance of the Viceroy, by Captain Leiva Bonilla.

Though Oñate, who was allied to the families of Cortés and Montezuma, had obtained a royal patent as early as 1588, it was not till August 24, 1595, that the Viceroy of New Spain issued the official authority for his expedition. The Franciscans had purchased the right to evangelize the terri-

[1] "Ytinerario del Nuevo Mundo," fol. 287.2–301.2; Montoya, "Relacion del Descobrimiento del Nvovo Mexico," pp. 4, 9; Espejo in "Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos," xv., pp. 101, etc.

tory by the life-blood of five of their order. Father Roderic Duran was sent as commissary or superior with Fathers Diego Marquez, Balthazar, Christopher de Salazar, and others, and these priests were promptly at the emigrant camp formed at Nombre de Dios; but intrigues at the capital prepossessed the government against Oñate. He was at last forbidden to advance, and Father Duran, with some of the Franciscans, returned to Mexico, leaving Father Diego Marquez as the only priest with Oñate's company. This religious had been captured at sea and taken before Queen Elizabeth, who ordered him to be tortured to extort information regarding the Spanish provinces in America. That he yielded probably made him at this time unpopular, and the feeling was so strong that when the expedition at last set out, he was compelled to return to Mexico soon after they reached the Rio Conchas.[1]

Another body of Franciscans were, however, already on their way to take charge of the settlers in New Mexico and of the Indian missions. At their head was Father Alonso Martinez, "a religious of singular virtue and noble gifts," says the poet of the expedition. His companions were Father Francis de Zamora, Fathers Rozas, San Miguel, Claros, Lugo, Andres Corchado, and two lay brothers.

The expedition with heavy wagons, droves of cattle and sheep, and settlers to the number of four hundred, including one hundred and thirty married men with families, moved slowly, escorted by Spanish soldiers, and the flower of the Chichimeca Indian auxiliaries. The Rio del Norte was finally reached at the close of April, and on Ascension Day, 1598, after a solemn mass and sermon, possession was for-

[1] Villagrá, "Historia de la Nueva Mexico," 1610, pp. 68, 86; Andres Cavo, "Tres Siglos de Mexico," i., p. 228; Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," p. 164.

mally taken of New Mexico, in the name of the Spanish King.[1] The religious services were followed by a representation in the style of the old mysteries, a "Comedia," composed by Captain Farfan, in which New Mexico welcomed the Church, beseeching her, on bended knee, to wash away its sins in the waters of baptism.

Captain Villagrá, in his poetical account of the conquest of New Mexico, inserts this prayer, pronounced aloud at this time by Oñate:

"O holy Cross, who art the divine gate of heaven, altar of the only and essential sacrifice of the Body and Blood of the Son of God, path of the Saints, and possession of His glory, open the gate of heaven to these unbelievers, found the Church and Altars on which the Body and Blood of the Son of God may be offered; open to us the way of security and peace, for their conversion and our own conversion, and give our king and me, in his royal name, peaceful possession of these kingdoms and provinces for His holy glory. Amen."[2]

This is a gratifying monument of the religious and peaceful character of Oñate's entrance into New Mexico. As they went on, mass was said by some of the Fathers before each day's march began. Oñate, finally, with Fathers Martinez and Christopher de Salazar, accompanied by sixty men, pushed on, and entering New Mexico took possession in the usual form, justifying the conquest by the murder of the missionaries.[3]

On the 27th of June they entered Puaray. Here they

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[1] Villagrá, p. 118; Zarate Salmeron, p. 23.

[2] Villagrá, p. 130, gives this in prose.

[3] "Treslado de la posesion que en nombre de su Magestad tomó Don Joan de Oñate de los reynos y provincias de la Nueva Mexico, año de 1598." "Coleccion de Documentos," xvi., p. 88; xviii., pp. 108–127; Villagrá, pp. 119–132; Duro, "Peñalosa," p. 155.

found a house, with the walls within so carefully whitened as to excite their suspicion. On removing this coat the Spaniards found beneath a painting, representing with some skill the martyrdom of Fathers Santa Maria and Lopez and Brother Ruiz, depicting the scene where they perished beneath the weapons of the Indians.[1]

By the 25th of July Oñate reached the Indian pueblo of Pecos, but retracing his course to the valley of Santo Domingo, he began on the 11th of August to lay out the city of San Francisco. This first seat of Spanish occupation in New Mexico was about two miles west of the former pueblo of Ojké, to which the Spaniards gave the name of San Juan de los Caballeros, and the proposed city, instead of its intended name of San Francisco, is referred to as the Real de San Juan. Here, on the 23d of August, the erection of the first church in New Mexico was begun, and on the 7th of September a building large enough to accommodate the settlers and garrison was completed. The next day, feast of the Nativity of our Lady, this church was dedicated under the name of Saint John the Baptist, the Father Commissary, Alonso Martinez, blessing it and consecrating the altars and chalices. Father Christopher de Salazar preached the sermon, and the day wound up with a general rejoicing and a mock battle between mounted Moors with lance and shield and Christians on foot with firearms. Thus was the first Catholic settlement in New Mexico begun, just thirty-three years after the settlement of Saint Augustine.[2]

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[1] Villagrá, p. 137; "Coleccion de Documentos," xvi., p. 256.

[2] "Discurso de las Jornadas," Coleccion de Documentos, xvi., pp. 247–264. Oñate, in his letter of March 2, 1599, says that the first church was founded in the beginning of October. Montoya, "Relacion," p. 16. "Y como el real Alferez Peñalosa Llegó con todo el campo sin disgusto Al pueblo de San Juan, los Religiosos Hizieron luego Yglesia, y la bendijó El Padre Comisario." Villagrá, pp. 144-2, 171. While endeavoring

The sacristy of this first church was soon enriched with a relic which filled the missionaries with pious consolation. It was the paten used by Father Lopez, who had been put to death at Puaray, and which they had recovered from a chief at Jemez, whom they found wearing it as a gorget.[1]

Having thus established a religious centre, the Commissary Apostolic assigned his priests to fields of labor in the great vineyard opened before him. Father Francis de San Miguel was sent to Pecos; Father Francisco de Zamora to Picuries and Taos; Father John de Rozas to Cheres; Father Alphonsus de Lugo to Jemez; Father Andrew Corchado to Zia; Father John Claros to the Tiguas; Father Christopher de Salazar was not yet ordained, but he took up his abode at the newly erected church of St. John with Brother John de San Buenaventura, and here the Commissary remained when not visiting the mission stations. Each missionary had a district, with several pueblos, dependent on him.

All through the summer the chiefs of the pueblos made their submission and acknowledged the Spanish authority, so that Oñate and his officers thought the country completely reduced. Each pueblo received the name of the saint or mystery to which the church or convent was to be dedicated. Thus Puaray was placed under the patronage of St. Anthony of Padua; the rising convent of Santo Domingo was dedicated to our Lady of the Assumption; Picuries to Saint Bon-

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to fix the location of this first church, the experienced antiquary, Adolph F. Bandelier, wrote me, "The first church was not built at San Juan Baptista, as the 'Discurso de las Jornadas' of Oñate would seem to imply, but about two miles west of the former pueblo of Ojké, then called by the Spaniards San Juan. The site of Ojké is partly covered by the actual pueblo of San Juan." The pueblo of San Juan is on the banks of the Rio Grande, just above the junction of the Rio Chama, the new pueblo being somewhat west of the former one.

[1] "Discurso de las Jornadas," p. 259.

aventure; Galisteo to Saint Anne. But in December the Spaniards were startled in their fancied security by tidings from Acoma that the men of that pueblo, under Zutacapan, had suddenly attacked and killed Oñate's lieutenant and several of his men. Oñate sent a detachment which stormed the height, captured the town after a stubborn resistance, and gave it to the flames; soon after the commander successfully repelled an Indian attack on his camp at San Juan.[1]

When spring opened, Oñate sent to Mexico Captain Villagrá, with Fathers Martinez and Salazar, to give an account of his conquest. Father Salazar died on the way; and though the Commissary reached the City of Mexico, his health was greatly enfeebled by all that he had undergone; he fell sick, and being unable to return, a venerable priest of great sanctity, Father John de Escalona, was sent as Commissary, with six or eight additional Fathers, escorted by about two hundred soldiers.[2]

Meanwhile Oñate had abandoned the site selected east of the Rio Grande, and crossing that river founded San Gabriel, on the Chama, six leagues north of the junction, and near the Ojo Caliente.[3]

In October, 1599, the new Commissary, Father Escalona, reached San Gabriel, where the Spaniards were living peacefully, surrounded by Indians, many of whom had already received the grace of baptism. Oñate then set out, with eighty

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[1] "Documentos Inéditos," 16, p. 39.

[2] Oñate, Letter March 2, 1599, from San Juan. Montoya, p. 24; "Coleccion de Doc. Inéditos," xvi., p. 97, etc.; xviii., p. 265; Zarate Salmeron, p. 23; Villagrá, pp. 195–277.

[3] "Coleccion de Documentos," xvi., p. 39; Zarate Salmeron, 1626, p. 24; "Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," iii., 1, p. 158. The post of San Gabriel was maintained certainly till 1604 (Zarate Salmeron, p. 30) and probably till 1607.

soldiers, to make discoveries in the direction followed by Coronado, and reach Quivira. Father Francisco Velasco and Brother Vergara accompanied the force to tread the path which led Padilla to martyrdom. His course lay first to the east-northeast, and then turned directly to the east. After a march of two hundred leagues Oñate reached the town of Quivira, whose occupants were attacked, as the Spaniards were, by a roving prairie tribe, called by the Spaniards the Escanjaques.[1]

The settlers and soldiers left at San Gabriel, without any one to direct the necessary works to fit it for defence as a place of refuge, oppressed the Indians, and soon fell into such want that they were all perishing. The natives, whom the Spaniards had robbed of their stores of corn, fled from their towns. The crops planted by the settlers seemed to have failed, and there was a general feeling that their commander might never return.[2] It was the almost unanimous wish of the settlers to abandon the country and make their way to Santa Barbara, thence to report to the viceroy and await his answer. Even the missionaries favored the step. Fathers Francis de San Miguel and Francis de Zamora, with two lay Brothers, asked also to go and act as chaplains to the discouraged emigrants. Father Escalona remained at San Gabriel, with the King's Ensign and a few Spaniards, awaiting instructions either from Oñate or from the viceroy.[3] When Oñate returned to San Gabriel he was roused to fury on finding his settlement abandoned; he proceeded against those who had left in form, proclaimed them traitors, and sen-

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[1] "Memorial de Vicente de Zaldivar," Doc. Inéd., xviii., p. 188; Torquemada, "Monarquia Indiana," i., pp. 672, 678.

[2] Zarate Salmeron, p. 26.

[3] Letter dated San Gabriel, October 1, 1601; Torquemada, i., p. 673.

tenced them to death.[1] His highest officer, with the sanguinary warrants, reached Santa Barbara twelve days after the slow-going caravan of disheartened settlers entered it.[2] The missionaries justified the action of the people, and Oñate was evidently compelled to conciliate his colonists, and seems to have induced them to return. Six Franciscan Fathers—Francis de Escobar, one of them, being appointed Commissary[3]—were sent to maintain the missions; but the religious complained of Oñate's arbitrary conduct in causing the Commissary to remove them from place to place, and forcing them to act as chaplains to the whites—a duty rather for secular priests, when their object was the conversion of the Indians.

Father John de Escalona, retiring from his office as Commissary, remained in the province, laboring as a missionary among the Indians, edifying all by his zeal, as he had done for years by his holy life. He had seen the first effort made for the conversion of New Mexico, and is said to have beheld in ecstasy the death of Brother Rodriguez and his companions. His own mission work began among the Queres, in the pueblo of Santo Domingo on the banks of the Rio Grande, and there he piously ended his days.[4]

In October, 1604, Oñate, having restored his town of San Gabriel, set out from it to extend his explorations to the shores of the Pacific. Accompanied by Father Escobar he visited Zuñi and the Moqui towns, then reached the Colorado and Gila, and followed the former to its mouth, taking

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[1] Torquemada, i., p. 675.

[2] Letter of F. Francis de San Miguel, Santa Barbara, February 26, 1602; Torquemada, i., pp. 676–7.

[3] Torquemada, i., p. 678.

[4] "Many are the prodigious things which befel this holy man among those Indians," writes F. Zarate Salmeron, p. 53.

possession in the name of the king on the 25th of January, 1605, assigning, as far as he could, the whole extent of the province he had explored to the Franciscans, who, in memory of the day, made the Conversion of Saint Paul the patronal feast of the mission of New Mexico.[1]

Soon after this Santa Fé was founded and became the seat of the Spanish power; but as the religious devoted their energies more especially to the Indian pueblos, and there was perhaps a feeling that the new settlement might not be permanent, no church was erected, the services being conducted in a wretched hut.[2]

For twelve years the labors of the Sons of St. Francis in New Mexico bore little fruit to encourage them,[3] but they were at last able to begin more systematic labors in the Indian pueblos, and with such success that, by the year 1608, they reported eight thousand baptisms. The Teoas nation was the first to embrace the faith, their church at San Ildefonso being apparently the first erected for the Indians in New Mexico.[4] Father Escobar having resigned his office, Father Alonso Peinado was sent to New Mexico as Commissary, with eight or nine additional priests to carry on the good work.[5]

Father Jerome de Zarate Salmeron became missionary to the Jemes about the year 1618, and during his eight years' labor in their pueblo composed in their language a catechism and other works that would be needed by any priest who succeeded him. He baptized 6,566 in the Jeme nation, and many others at the Queres towns of Cia and Santa Ana.

[1] Zarate Salmeron, pp. 30–37.

[2] Benavides, p. 27. A. F. Bandelier, who has written on the date of the foundation of Santa Fé, fixes it at 1607.

[3] Benavides, "Memorial," p. 2.

[4] Ibid., p. 28.

[5] Torquemada, i., p. 678.

Acoma, which on its embattled height had defied the Spaniards, yielded to his zeal. In all these missions he erected churches and residences.[1]

When Father Stephen de Perea was Commissary a most consoling ceremony took place. Thirty-three years after the death of Father John Lopez, an Indian of Puaray, who had witnessed his death and burial, guided Father Perea to the spot where Brother Rodriguez had interred him. The grave was opened, and the bones reverently encased were borne by the religious in procession, followed by their converts to the Church of Sandia, undeterred by the inclement weather of February. Miracles were ascribed to his intercession, for which Father Zarate Salmeron refers to the work of another missionary, apparently Father Perea himself.[2] The ancient chapel of the pueblo of Sandia in all probability holds to this day the remains of this protomartyr of the New Mexico mission.

About the year 1622, in the Provincial Chapter of the Franciscan Order held in Mexico, the missions which had hitherto been under the care of a Commissary were formed into a Custodia, of which Father Alonzo de Benavides was appointed the first custos. The Viceroy of New Spain thereupon authorized him to take twenty-six missionaries to New Mexico, their expenses on the way and their maintenance being paid by the king. But though the new custos entered his district with that number, death, sickness, and hardship soon thinned their ranks, and at the close of the year 1627 the king ordered the viceroy to send thirty Franciscan Fathers to New Mexico.[3]

On the 4th of September, 1628, nineteen priests and two

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[1] Torquemada, "Dedication."

[2] Zarate Salmeron, p. 11.

[3] Cedula of November 15, 1627.

lay brothers of the Order of Saint Francis left the City of Mexico with the newly appointed Custos, Father Stephen de Perea; these were maintained by the king and nine others,

VEN. MARÍA JÉSUS DE ÁGREDA, ABBESS OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION, ÁGREDA. BORN APRIL 2, 1602. DIED 1665.

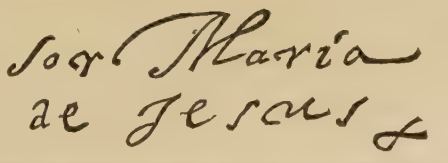
at the expense of the province of the Holy Gospel, all ready to meet toil and danger in the missions of New Mexico.[1]

In 1630 Father Benavides was dispatched to Spain to lay

[1] Perea, "Verdadera Relacion de la Grandiosa Conversion que ha avido en el Nuevo Mexico," Seville, 1632.

before the sovereign the consoling results of the missions which his zeal had established.

At Chilili, the chief pueblo of the Tompiras, Father John de Salas founded a mission, which soon had six churches and residences. His zeal extended beyond the limits of that nation. Hearing of the Xumanas, a tribe similar in mode of life to the tribes already known, whose pueblo lay east of the mesa still bearing their name, and not far from the Salt lakes, this missionary about 1623 endeavored to bear the light of the gospel to them. To his surprise he found the Xumanas familiar with the Christian doctrines, and they declared that they had been instructed in the faith of Christ by a woman. Her attire, as they described it, was that of a nun, and the missionary showed them a picture of Sister Louisa Carrion, a religious in Spain highly esteemed for her sanctity. The Indians declared that the dress was the same, but the lady who visited them was younger and more handsome. In 1629 Father Benavides resolved to found a mission among this interesting people, and he sent Fathers Perea and Lopez to take up their residence at the great pueblo of the Xumana nation, which he dedicated to St. Isidore, archbishop. When he subsequently returned to Spain, Father Benavides heard of Sister Maria de Ágreda, and at her convent learned that she had in ecstasy visited New Mexico and instructed Indians there. The Franciscan writers all from this time speak of this marvellous conversion of the Xumanas by her instrumentality, as a settled fact. The ruins recently called Gran Quivira are, in all probability, the



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF THE VEN. MARÍA DE ÁGREDA.

site of a Xumana town, the nation having been wasted away by wars and absorbed in some one of the New Mexican tribes.[1] In 1632 Father John de Salas again visited the tribe, accompanied by F. Diego de Ortego, and finding the people friendly and disposed to receive the faith, he left Father Ortego there for six months.[2] The Tompiras by 1629 had six convents and

[1] This conversion of the Xumanas is detailed by Father Benavides in his "Memorial," pp. 23, 86, etc.; and a separate tract, "Tanto que se sacó," etc.; is treated of by Father Joseph Ximenez Samaniego in his Life of María de Ágreda prefixed to her "Mistica Ciudad," Lisbon, 1681, vol. i., sig. M. 3; is referred to by Bishop Manzo y Zuñiga of Mexico in 1682, and is constantly mentioned by later writers as an acknowledged fact. During her life she underwent a rigorous examination before the Inquisition, of which her long and clear answers are preserved. The Sorbonne condemned the "Mistica Ciudad," and the Holy See for a time permitted its circulation only in Spain and Portugal. Her correspondence with Philip IV. ("Cartas de la Ven. M. Sor María de Ágreda y del Señor Rey Don Felipe IV.," Madrid, 1885) show a clear political judgment, a firmness and decision that the king and his counsellors seemed to lack.

The Ven. María de Ágreda, daughter of Francis Coronel and Catherine de Arana, was born at Ágreda, April 2, 1602, and after a childhood of great piety and reserve, at the age of sixteen took the veil in the Order of Poor Clares with her mother and sister, their house becoming a convent, her father with her two brothers making their profession in the Convent of San Antonio the same day. Her austerities were extraordinary, but they were supported by a solid and constant piety and virtue. Having become abbess at the age of twenty-five, she erected a new convent near the city, which is still standing. Through life she petitioned the Holy See to define clearly two points made *de fide* in our time—the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin and the Infallibility of the Sovereign Pontiff. She died on Whitsunday, 1665, and the process of her canonization, begun soon after her death, has been revived in our day.

Since writing the above I find that A. F. Bandelier, in a series of articles on "Cibola and Quivira," identifies "Gran Quivira" as a Xumana town. It has one large church in tolerable condition and one in ruins. The Xumanas, harassed by the Apaches, retired, he thinks, in 1679 to Socorro and other towns; but, as we shall see, they kept up their separate tribal existence, and were friendly after the revolt of the Pueblos.

[2] F. Alonso de Posadas, in Duro, "Peñalosa," p. 57.

as many good churches. The Teoas, the first tribe to receive the faith, had three convents and churches, with five chapels in the smaller pueblos. The Tioas had convents and costly churches dedicated to St. Francis and St. Anthony at Sandia and Isleta, with chapels in the rest of the fifteen or sixteen pueblos. The Queres had three costly and elaborate churches, one at San Felipe, with chapels on four other pueblos.[1] The Tanos had a convent and very good church in their chief pueblo, and chapels in the four others. The Pecos, a branch of the Jemes, had a church of remarkable beauty in design and execution, reared by the talented and skilful missionary in that tribe.[2]

One of the first cares of Father Benavides on reaching Santa Fé as custos was to undertake the erection of a suitable convent and church in that city, then peopled by about two hundred and fifty Spaniards, and seven hundred half-breeds brought in as servants and laborers, with some Indians from the neighboring tribes in the territory. In his work in 1630 this Father speaks of the church he had erected, as being one that would be creditable anywhere.[3] A carved group of the Death of the Blessed Virgin which he brought from Mexico attracted Indians from all parts, even the Apaches of the bison ranges coming to admire it.[4]

Before he presented his memorial to the king, Father Benavides as custos had founded ten convents or missions. One was apparently that at Picuries, among a branch of the Tioas nation, who at first showed great hostility to the

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[1] Benavides, "Memorial," pp. 23, 28, 21, 22.

[2] Benavides, pp. 24, 25.

[3] It is positive, therefore, that the first church in Santa Fé was erected between 1622 and 1630; and that prior to 1622 there was no church in Santa Fé. Benavides, p. 27.

[4] Ibid., p. 81.

faith, ill-treating the missionary, and several times attempting to take his life; but his zeal and patience triumphed, so that they became docile and peaceful. The mission of San Geronimo at Taos, a pueblo of the same nation, had its convent and church and was attended by two missionaries. The Queres on the rocky height at Acoma submitted in 1629 and received a missionary. Among the Zuñis, who had then eleven or twelve pueblos, the religious met great difficulties, and underwent great hardships, being strenuously opposed by the medicine men;[1] one of the apostolic missionaries, Father Francis Letrado, after laboring among this tribe, was killed by the Cipias, to whom he attempted to unfold the truths of the gospel.[2]

Father Francis de Porras, leaving Father Roque at Zuñi, proceeded with Father Andrew Gutierrez and the lay brother, Christopher of the Conception, with their crosses on their necks and staves in their hands, to announce the gospel in the towns of the Moquis. Reaching the first town on St. Bernard's day they gave his name to the town and mission.[3]

Among the fourteen pueblos of the Piras, Father Benavides founded a mission in 1626, dedicating Pilabo, the principal pueblo, to Our Lady of Help (Nuestra Señora del Socorro), that at Senecu to St. Anthony of Padua, and that at Sevilleta to San Luis Obispo.[4] Besides these labors among the New Mexican tribes, and the attempt made to instruct the Moquis, Father Benavides, while laboring at Senecu,

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[1] Benavides, pp. 31–5.

[2] Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico" (1632), p. 199. Vetancurt, "Teatro Mexicano," List of Authorities. Bandelier makes him a missionary to the Xumanas.

[3] Perea, "Segunda Relacion de la Grandiosa Conversion," Seville, 1633.

[4] Benavides, p. 14.

converted Sanaba, an Apache chief of the Gila, and opened the way for missions in that wild race. On the 17th of September, 1629, he founded a convent and church in Santa Clara de Capoo, a pueblo of the Teoas nation on the Apache frontier, as a centre for instructing and converting the powerful and warlike Apaches of Navajo.[1]

In these missions Father Benavides assures us 80,000 had been baptized as the registers would show. In the territory of New Mexico there were forty-three churches. For these the missionaries had been architects and directors of the work, which was accomplished by the women, boys, and girls. These Pueblo Indians all lived in houses several stories high, built of sun-dried bricks or adobes, or occasionally of stone, where it was a more convenient material. These houses were set compactly together fronting on a square, with a dead-wall outside, the upper stories receding slightly, leaving a ledge which could be reached by a ladder, and from which by drawing the same ladder up the next story could be reached and finally the roof, in which the door was. This system of towns made them fortresses defying the efforts of the wilder tribes who surrounded New Mexico on all sides. Ingenious as these buildings were, they were exclusively the work of the women and children. The men would go to war, hunt, fish, spin, and weave, but disdained to till the soil or build a house—that was woman's work. The New Mexican Adam did not delve or the Eve spin—they reversed it. When the Franciscan missionaries wished to erect a church, they found the women and the children ready to make and lay the adobes, but could not induce the men to take part in the work. In vain did they endeavor to induce the men to undertake it and allow the women to withdraw.

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[1] Benavides, pp. 35, 55, 59.

Occasionally a man would take a hand, but ere long, unable to stand the ridicule of his comrades, he threw down the feminine implements. The missionaries found that there was no alternative; the material as well as the spiritual church must depend mainly on the devout female sex. These old ruined churches are monuments of the faith and zeal of the early women converts.

The missionaries did not attain the consoling results they reported without severe hardships, great suffering from cold, and journeying on foot over rocks and heights, as well as from the indifference and hostility of the Indians; but they triumphed ultimately, and wherever they succeeded in establishing a house or convent in a pueblo, they began to develop the industry of the Indians, using the mechanical progress the Indians had made as the basis of improvement —a much wiser course than that of the English, who induced the Indians to abandon altogether their former industries. The Spanish missionaries in New Mexico introduced horses, cattle, and sheep, and induced the Indians to keep domestic animals; they improved their machinery for spinning and weaving, established schools where they taught the young to read, write, chant, play on musical instruments, and after a time to handle tools as carpenters, masons, carvers, stone-cutters. The missionaries aided cultivation by introducing acequias or irrigating trenches.

The results obtained were effected in the last eight years; but so general was the conversion that the Fathers went through the towns freely, welcomed on all sides, and greeted with the pious salutations: "Praised be Jesus Christ," or "Praised be the Most Holy Sacrament."[1]

Meanwhile Spanish settlements increased in New Mexico,

[1] Benavides, "Memorials," pp. 15–44.

new towns were founded, mines were opened and worked. When a town was founded a certain number of families were transferred from some part of Mexico or one of the settlements already formed in New Mexico. In this way a number of Tlascalans were brought in to form part of the first population of Santa Fé, and the church erected in their quarter of the town and destined for their especial use, was known as San Miguel de los Tlascaltecas.[1] These Mexican Indians brought in their legends of the riches, power, and glory of Montezuma, till his name became in all the pueblos the hero of a great myth, easily engrafted on their old traditions, and remaining to this day.

The Indian converts clung to their "estufas"; the rites of Sabæanism practiced in the lowest story of their houses, originally built for vapor baths, the favorite remedy of the Indians, but which became also under the medicine men the centre of their religious rites. From time to time the Spanish authorities and the clergy endeavored to effect the suppression of these superstitions, but in a few years when search relaxed the estufas would be reopened to the known adherents of the old idolatry.

The Bishop of Guadalajara, whose jurisdiction extended over New Mexico, found it impossible to send secular priests to attend to the Spanish settlers, and maintain any supervision over them; the Conchos and other nomadic and hostile tribes who lay between his See and New Mexico, making the journey dangerous, except with a considerable military force. Hence he committed not only the Indian missions, but all the parish churches and chapels of the Spaniards, to the Fathers of the Order of St. Francis, who were the only priests of New Mexico down to the present century, the Bishop of Durango,

[1] This church was erected after the parish church built by Father Benavides.

to whose diocese on its erection the province was assigned, adopting the same course. The habit of the Seraphic Order was there for more than two centuries, to the eyes of people, the only recognized garb of the Catholic priesthood.[1]

In 1645 there were in New Mexico churches in the Spanish settlements attended by the Franciscans and twenty-five Indian missions, the whole employing sixty members of the order.

New Mexico suffered constantly from the inroads of the Apaches, and toward the close of the century from the Yutes. One Zuñi town and six in the valley of the Salinas, east of the Sandia range, were destroyed by the Apaches.[2] The Church continued its work in New Mexico in peace for several years, though in 1640 and 1650 revolts incited by the medicine men took place. About the middle of the seventeenth century, the civil power seems to have fallen into variance with the ecclesiastical. Governor Peñalosa in 1664 arrested and imprisoned the Superior of the mission, apparently Father Alonso de Posadas, and his conduct was regarded as so illegal that on his return to Mexico he was brought before the court of the Inquisition and compelled to make reparation by a public penance.[3] This unfortunate conflict between the civil and religious authorities could not fail to lessen the respect of the Indians for the missionaries, and as a natural consequence made them regard with hostility the Spanish officials and settlers whom no sanctity of profession had ever exalted in their eyes.

The sullen spirit of revolt was nurtured for years in the

[1] Pino, "Exposicion del Nuevo Mexico," Cadiz, 1812, p. 26; "Mexico," 1849, p. 32.

[2] Letter of F. Sylvester Velez Escalante, April 2, 1778.

[3] Shea, "Peñalosa," p. 11; Margry, iii., p. 39; Duro, "Peñalosa," pp. 82, 53.

minds of the Indians, and in 1680 the whole country was permeated by a network of conspiracy, awaiting the signal to rise against the Spaniards. At this time New Mexico contained forty-six pueblos or towns of converted Indians, and the Spanish city of Sante Fé, with a number of smaller Spanish stations, chiefly on or near the banks of the Rio Grande.[1]

The plot was conceived and carried out by a Tejua Indian named El Pope, who had been pursued for committing murders, and instigating the Indians to revive their old heathen rites. Flying from pueblo to pueblo this man labored for fourteen years to effect a general insurrection against the Spaniards. He claimed power to injure any one he chose by his alliance with the Evil One, and was so implicitly believed that all the pueblos except those of the Piros and Pecos entered into the plot. The 13th of August, 1680, was fixed upon for the general massacre of the Spaniards, but John Ye, Governor of the Pecos, warned the authorities of the danger, and finding his advice unheeded, as the fatal day drew near, told the missionary in his pueblo, Father Ferdinand de Velasco: "Father, the people are going to rise and kill all the Spaniards and missionaries. Decide then whither you wish to go, and I will send warriors with you to protect you." The Tanos of San Cristobal and San Lazaro also warned the Custos of the Mission, Father John Bernal, who wrote to Governor Otermin. On the 9th that officer was at last convinced of the danger, and Pope seeing his plot discovered, gave the order to the confederates to rise at once. At daybreak on the 10th the Taos, Picuries, and Tejuas attacked the convents of the missionaries and the houses of the Spaniards, slaughtering and destroying. Then the other

[1] Letter of F. Sylvester Velez de Escalante, April 2, 1778.

tribes rose and the massacre and destruction became general. The Spaniards at Isleta and San Felipe on the south fled to El Paso; those in La Cañada retreated to the strong house of the Alcalde and kept the Indians at bay till Otermin enabled them to reach Santa Fé. In a few days not a Spaniard, except a few women held as slaves, was to be found in all New Mexico outside the walls of the capital. On the 19th that city was invested by nine hundred Tanos, Queres, and Pecos. They captured the Analco quarter occupied by the Tlascalans and set fire to their chapel of San Miguel. The Spaniards charged them, and after a desperate fight were gaining the advantage, when another Indian force, including more of the Taos, with the Picuries and Tejuas, attacked the city on the north. For five days the fight raged in the city night and day, till the Indians, capturing house after house and firing it, gave the parish church and convent to the flames, and held the Spaniards and Tlascalans in the royal buildings and the plaza. There one hundred and fifty survivors beheld themselves surrounded by three thousand furious Indians, under Pope and Alonso Catitis, who had gone so far that they panted to complete their work. Encouraged by the three religious, Father Francis Gomez de la Cadina, Father Andrew Duran, and F. Francis Farfan, one hundred Spaniards, drawn up by the governor, invoked the name of Mary, and charged the insurgents with such fury that they killed 300 and captured 43, putting the rest to flight. Governor Otermin, wounded in the breast and forehead, profited at once by the confusion of the enemy, and marched towards El Paso. After meeting another band of refugees with seven religious at Fray Cristóval, the scanty remnant of the population of New Mexico took up a fortified position at La Salineta and San Lorenzo, where Father Francis Ayeta, procura-

tor of the kingdom, soon arrived with sorely needed supplies sent in the name of the king.[1]

All signs of Christianity and civilization were thus swept from New Mexico. Eighteen priests of the Franciscan Order, including the custos, who made no attempt to fly though he warned others, and three lay brothers, perished with three hundred and eighty men, women, and children.[2] The churches were profaned, the sacred elements trampled under foot, the vestments and plate destroyed, and, finally, the churches and houses of the clergy razed to the ground. The Indians even vented their rage on the cattle, orchards, and fields of European grain, as if seeking to destroy all trace of the hated whites.[3] To root out all Christian ideas, Pope bade the women and children wear no crosses or rosaries, but break them up and burn them; Christ and Mary and the Saints were not to be named or invoked; married men were required to put away their wives and take others.[4]

Of the Franciscan missionaries whose lives were thus offered, we have the names of the Superior of the Mission, Father Custos John Bernal; Father John of Jesus (Morador) at Jemes; Fathers Figueroa, Maldonado, and Mora at Acoma; Fathers Analisa, Espinosa, and Calsada at Zuñi; Fathers Vallarde and Lombarde in the towns of the Moquis; Father Simon of Jesus in a pueblo of the Tanos, and the Father

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[1] Letter of F. Sylvester Velez de Escalante to F. Morfi, April 2, 1778. Siguenza y Gongora, "Mercurio Volante con las noticias de la recuperacion de las provincias del Nuevo Mexico," 1693–4. Remonstrance of F. Salvador de San Antonio to Gov. Vargas, December 18, 1693.

[2] Letter of F. Sylvester de Velez Escalante; Ayeta, "Crisol de la Verdad," pp. 32, 2.

[3] Siguenza y Gongora, "Mercurio Volante."

[4] Letter of F. Sylvester Velez de Escalante.

Procurator of the province on his way from Acoma to Zuñi.[1]

Father John of Jesus, a venerable old priest at the pueblo of San Diego de los Jemes, was seized by the Indians, whom he had instructed with patience and love for nine years. They burst into his room, stripped and tied him upon a hog. In this state he was driven around the church and through the pueblo amid the curses and blows of the rabble. When weary of this mode of torture, they got upon him and made him carry them around on all-fours, till he sank lifeless, when he was evidently dispatched by an arrow or javelin which pierced his spine, as was seen when his venerated remains were recovered.[2] The priests at Acoma were stripped and tied together with a hair rope, then driven through the streets of the pueblo amid the blows and insults of the apostates. Their words were unheeded till Father Figueroa announced to them that in three years they would nearly exterminate each other in wars between the tribes. The Indians on hearing this killed the three Fathers with stones and clubs, and flung their bodies into a deep cave north of the pueblo. Fathers Laurence Analisa, John of Jesus Espinosa

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[1] Of the rest of the Fathers I do not find even the names. No full account of the lives and deaths of these priests has rewarded my search. Davis, in his "Conquest of New Mexico," gives an account based on what he calls ancient records, but not naming any distinctly. He sympathizes with the Indian leaders in their hatred of Christianity.

[2] Espinosa, "Cronica Apostolica y Serafica," i., p. 35; "Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," III., i., pp. 159–161; Davis, "Spanish Conquest of New Mexico," p. 305, gives some details. Father John was a native of Granada, in Spain, and joined the province of Michoacan, where he was eminent for his holy life. He was elected, in 1655, first guardian of the convent at Queretaro. He died on the feast of St. Lawrence. Espinosa, i., p. 35, who refers to Vetancurt, to the Cronica de San Diego de Mexico, and to the Sermon preached at his Requiem by Don Isidro Sariñano, afterwards Bishop of Antequera.

and Sebastian Calsada, were dragged from their cells at Zuñi. They, too, were stripped, pelted with stones, then tied up in the plaza, where the Indians compelled the servant of the missionaries to shoot them. Their bodies were buried, it is said, in the church. The priests at Moqui tied together were driven through one of the pueblos, stoned to death, and their bodies flung outside of the place. The Father Procurator of the Missions, while on his way from Acoma to Zuñi, saw the savage murderers approaching. Dismounting from his mule he knelt in prayer, commending his soul to God, till he fell under the blows of his assassins.[1]

The fate of Father Simon of Jesus, the missionary among the Tanos, is strangely connected with the history of these tribes, who after living for fourscore years under the mild law of the gospel, rejected Christ to follow the wildest heathenism of their medicine men. This missionary seeing the talent, intelligence, and apparent piety of an Indian boy whose name comes down to us as Frasquillo, devoted his time to the education of the youth. The apt scholar learned to read and write Spanish fluently and well; he became a good Latinist, and the chants and service of the Church were familiar to him. The good missionary looked forward to the day when his pupil, ordained as a priest, would minister at God's altar. Yet when the conspiracy was formed and the day for the massacre was fixed, this precocious boy entered ardently into it. At the appointed time he began the massacre in his pueblo by slaying with his own hands the good priest who had done so much to elevate him.[2] The Tanos hailed the young monster as their king. Pope, the projector of the whole conspiracy, set himself up as absolute ruler, but

[1] Davis, "Conquest of New Mexico," pp. 264–5.

[2] "Doc. Hist. Mex." III., i., pp. 103, etc.; Espinosa, "Cronica Apostolica," i., p. 284.

his cruelty and extortions soon drove the Queres, Taos, and Pecos to revolt against his authority. The other tribes then deposed Pope, despising his pretended powers from the evil spirits. Pope and the medicine men persuaded the people that their old pueblos had been cursed with misfortune by the Christian rites, and incited the people to erect new pueblos elsewhere. The old towns and cultivated fields were generally abandoned, and in the new selection tribal lines were broken up. While the New Mexican Indians were thus endeavoring to create new homes, the Apaches and Utes were exterminating the exposed bands, a volcanic upheaval dried up the streams and covered the land with showers of ashes, crops failed, and to complete the misery, the Queres, Taos, and Pecos began a bitter war against the Tanos and Tehuas, the smaller tribes joining one side or the other. At this juncture the crafty boy Frasquillo proposed to the Tanos to divide into two parts by lot, one part to remain, while the other set out to seek a more fertile and quiet land. His project pleased them, and leaving a similar number he set out at the head of 4,000 men, women, and children, with their half of the plunder of the churches, the arms, implements, horses, cattle, sheep, and goats taken from the Spaniards. He marched to Zuñi, but finding no welcome, kept on till he reached the gentle, industrious Moquis. Representing to this less warlike tribe the increasing danger from the Apaches and Utes, he offered to divide his fifteen hundred warriors among their different pueblos as a garrison able to defeat any foe, while the rest of his people formed new pueblos in the pasture lands, ready always to come to their aid. Before long Frasquillo proclaimed himself king of Moqui, and as the Tano boys grew up found himself able to master the Moquis, whom he disarmed and subjected to his tribe as a kind of helots.

Frasquillo reigned here absolutely for thirty years, at times showing a wish to return to Christianity, but to the end holding the Spaniards at bay, for though some of his towns deluded the authorities by mock submission, they never in his day entered his capital, Oraybi.[1]

Meanwhile those who remained in New Mexico, under the scourge of wild Indians on the frontiers, war and famine within, and the Spaniards soon attacking from the south, diminished rapidly. The Piro and Tompira nations disappeared; few of the Tiguas and Jemes survived; of the Teguas, Taos, and Pecos there were indeed more. The Queres suffered least, for in the general shifting of homes, they erected their adobe pueblo within the walls of Santa Fé, on the ruins of the Spanish town, securing thus a double line of defence.

Father Francis Ayeta, the procurator-general of the Franciscans of the province of the Holy Gospel, on hearing of the destitute condition of the Spaniards and their faithful converts at El Paso, hastened thither with supplies; but seeing how difficult it would be for them to establish new settlements there, he returned to Mexico in order to urge the Viceroy to send an expedition to recover New Mexico and restore the fugitives to their homes. A small force was sent to the Presidio of El Paso, and in November, 1681, Otermin advanced, accompanied by Father Ayeta and other religious. The Tiguas of Isleta submitted, but as the winter was too far advanced, Otermin returned and formed into pueblos near El Paso some Indians who followed him. The missionaries then renewed their labors, but it was with constant peril of their lives. In 1683 the Piros, Tanos, and Jemes of Socorro endeavored to kill their missionary,

[1] "Doc. Hist. Mex." III., i., pp. 103–106.

Father Antonio Guerra. Gradually most of the New Mexicans abandoned these new pueblos for their old homes.

But the zeal of the missionaries was unabated, and when in December, 1683, a Xumana Indian came to solicit missionaries,[1] Father Nicholas Lopez had been appointed Procurator and Custos of the missions of New Mexico, which the Franciscans were too devoted to abandon. The next year he set out from Mexico with some means supplied by the zeal of the charitable, to restore religion. At the convent of El Paso he found thirty-three Xumana chiefs come to seek instruction and baptism. He set out with Fathers John de Zaboleta and Anthony de Acevedo, accompanied by the Indians. They made their way barefoot to La Junta de los Rios, the confluence of the Rio Grande and Conchos. Here the Indians had erected a house and two rustic chapels for the missionaries. Leaving Father Acevedo to minister to these well-disposed natives, Fathers Lopez and Zaboleta kept on,[2] and following the Puerco River, reached the Xumanas and began a mission. Father Lopez drew up an extensive vocabulary of the Xumana language, and acquired such a knowledge of it that he was able to preach to the natives in their own tongue, extending his influence to the Texas Indians on the Nueces. Soon after his return to La Junta, the Indians, excited by some rumor, rose against the missionaries, drove them out naked and without any provisions, profaning everything connected with the service of God. The Franciscan Fathers, with great suffering, reached El Paso after long and painful wandering. Still more cruelly Father Manuel Beltran was slain, at a mission of the Yumas and Tanos, his

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[1] Letter of F. Velez de Escalante.

[2] "Memorial de F. Nicolas Lopez" in Duro's "Peñalosa," pp. 68–9; Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," p. 266; F. Sylvester Velez de Escalante.

church destroyed, and the sacred plate and vestments profaned.[1]

Several expeditions were made into New Mexico, but no decisive advantage was gained.

In the year 1690 the once flourishing church of New Mexico had for the time disappeared; a few fugitive Spaniards and Indians on the frontier alone represented the people who a few years before had thronged the comely churches in the upper valley of the Rio Grande.[2]

During the whole period that we have traced, New Mexico, though subject to the Bishops of Guadalajara, had never enjoyed the presence of any one invested with episcopal dignity; the ecclesiastical administration for whites and Indians had devolved on the Custos of the Franciscans, who governed as Superior of the religious of his order, Vicar-General of the Bishop, commissary for the Tribunal of the Holy Office, and Ecclesiastical Judge. Moreover, under the privilege of Leo X. and Adrian VI., he conferred the sacrament of confirmation.[3] Questions had arisen in various parts of the Spanish dominions in America whether religious in charge of mission stations or white settlements where a Bishop was as yet unable to establish secular priests belonging to his diocese, were really "parochi," within the meaning of the Council of Trent. St. Pius V., in 1567, at the request of the King of Spain, by his Bull "Exponi Nobis," declared them to possess all the powers of parish priests for the Indians and for whites in their district not subject to a parish priest.[4]

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[1] Letter of Sylvester Velez de Escalante.

[2] Ayeta, "Crisol de la Verdad," p. 32, 2; Hernaez, "Coleccion de Bulas," Brussels, 1879, i., p. 377.

[3] "Bullarium de Propaganda Fide," Appendix i., p. 42; Ayeta, "Defensa de la Verdad," 77.

[4] Hernaez, "Coleccion de Bulas," Brussels, 1879, i., p. 397.

The missionaries of New Mexico had, as we have seen, opened intercourse with the Asinais or Cenis, whom the Spaniards called Texas because they met the whites crying "Texas! Texas!" which meant in their language, "We are friends!" but which the Castilians mistook for their tribal name, and it not only remained the usual appellation for the nation, but is now that of one of the States of this Republic.

When the authorities in Mexico heard of La Salle's landing in Texas and apparently obtained some clue to his designs, an expedition was sent to that province in January, 1689, under Don Alonso de Leon. It was accompanied by several missionaries, the Superior being Father Damian Mazanet of the Order of St. Francis.[1] Alonso de Leon proceeded to the territory of the Asinais to ransom French prisoners still in their hands. Here evidence was found that missionaries had held intercourse with the tribe, or received some ideas from their prisoners, for the Spaniards found a little chapel of boughs with an altar on which a crucifix and a rosary were honorably kept.[2] The object of the expedition was simply to explore, but so friendly a disposition was manifested by the Indians that after the return of the expedition to Coahuila in May, the Spanish authorities determined to occupy the country and established Indian missions. Catholicity had already reared an altar in this province, and several priests who accompanied La Salle had offered the holy sacrifice, and administered the sacraments, three remaining to perish after some years' stay at Espiritu Santo Bay, being massacred by the Indians.

The Spaniards visited the scene of desolation, and the

[1] Morfi, "Memorias para la historia de la provincia de Texas," p. 54; Espinosa, "Cronica Apostolica," i., p. 408; Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologica," p. 294; Carta in B. Smith, "Coleccion," p. 25.

[2] Smith, "Coleccion," p. 26.

priests on the expedition performed the last rites for the unhappy victims.

Though the opening of the year 1690 saw no Catholic church or priest in Texas, it marks the active preparations for the spiritual conquest of that province.

The Church in Spain had already, too, prepared the way for the spiritual conquest of California.

Sebastian Vizcaino, after visiting Lower California with Father Perdomo and other Franciscans in 1596, ran up, in a second voyage, as far as Santa Barbara, Monterey, and the Bay of San Francisco. He was accompanied on this expedition by three discalced Carmelites, Fathers Andrew of the Assumption, Anthony of the Ascension, and Thomas of Aquin, the two former of whom offered the holy sacrifice of the mass beneath a spreading oak tree at Monterey, in December, 1601.[1]

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[1] Torquemada, "Monarquia Indiana," ii., p. 682; Venegas, "Historia de la California," i., p. 169.

# BOOK III.

## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN FRENCH TERRITORY.

### CHAPTER I.

FIRST WORK OF THE CHURCH IN MAINE, MICHIGAN, AND NEW YORK. 1611–1652.

The Church was planted in Maryland amid a hostile Protestant population growing up and strengthening around it, so that it held its own with difficulty in that province and expanded but feebly in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York. It was planted under the protecting power of Spain, beginning at the Chesapeake, then in Florida and the Georgia coast, in Texas, New Mexico, and setting up a pioneer cross on the coast of California.

It had also been planted at the north and west under the protecting banner of France.

Where the cross was first reared by Frenchmen on our soil is not certain. If we are to credit the famous Franciscan Father, Andrew Thevet, cosmographer to the King of France, who claims to have visited the coast known as Norumbega, and which was certainly some part of New England, the French had, previous to 1575, erected a little fort ten or twelve miles up the Norumbega River, on a spot surrounded by fresh water.[1] But history is silent as to the colonists who settled here. The earliest English settlers on the New Eng-

[1] Thevet, "La Cosmographie Universelle," Paris, 1575, p. 1008. The river is most probably the Kennebec.

land coast found traces of Frenchmen who had made efforts to check the vices of the natives and instruct them in the truths of religion. These are supposed to have been Frenchmen who had recently escaped the wreck of their vessel, but their visits may date further back.[1]

Leaving, however, the period of the voyages prompted by Cartier's exploration of the St. Lawrence, few of which are definitely recorded, we come to the commencement of the seventeenth century, when Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, obtained of the French king a commission to colonize the American coast and to conduct the trade to the exclusion of all others. He sailed from Havre de Grace in France on the 7th of March, 1604, and after reaching what is now called Nova Scotia, coasted along to an island in Scoodic River to which he gave the name of Sainte Croix, or Holy Cross. On this island, now called De Monts or Neutral Island, just on the borders of New Brunswick and within the jurisdiction of Maine, de Monts began a settlement. Of the little fort which he erected, Champlain, who was one of the party, has left us a sketch, in which appears "The house of our Curé" and a map showing a chapel and cemetery. Lescarbot speaks of the chapel as built Indian fashion, but he was not there at the time, and we possess no further description of the first Catholic chapel erected in New England, that on Ste. Croix Island in July, 1604. The position of the chapel where the first known mass was said in New England can be seen on the map of the island.[2] The priest referred to by Champlain was the Rev. Nicholas Aubry, a young ecclesiastic of a good

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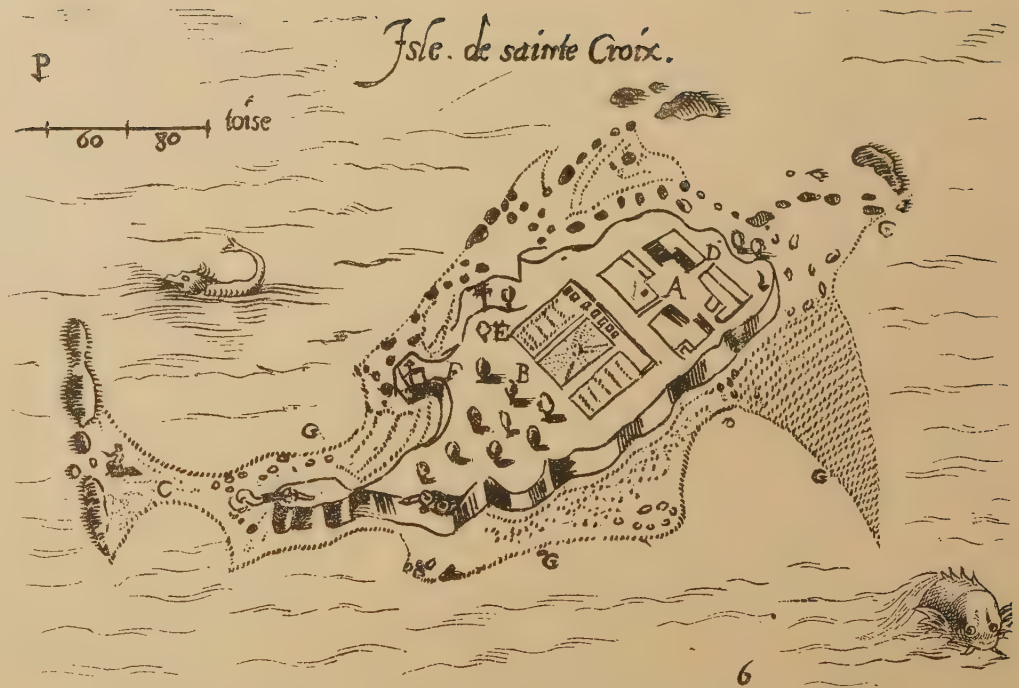
[1] Hildreth, "History of the United States," i., p. 222.

[2] On the map E is the cemetery with its cross, and F the chapel, A being the fort. Scholars agree that the settlement was on Dochet's or Neutral Island, now called De Monts. Slafter's "Champlain," ii., p. 32. Lescarbot, (1611), p. 470.




ISLAND OF SAINTE CROIX (DE MONTS ISLAND), FROM CHAMPLAIN'S VOYAGES.

family at Paris. He was accompanied by another priest, whose name has not come down to us.[1] They ministered to the little colony till the spot was abandoned in the following year and the settlers transferred to Port Royal, near the present Annapolis, Nova Scotia.

The little chapel shown in Champlain's map is, therefore, the earliest structure of which we have any definite notice raised in our northern parts for the celebration of the mysteries of religion.

No further details are given as to labors of the priests at Holy Cross Island, save an adventure of Rev. Mr. Aubry, who, landing on the coast before they reached the island, was lost in the woods, and had nearly perished of hunger when he was finally rescued.[2]

The settlement at Port Royal did not thrive and was resigned by de Monts to John de Biencour, Sieur de Poutrincourt, who applied to the King of France for a confirmation of his grant. This was given, but Henry IV. expressed a wish that some Jesuit Fathers should be sent over to labor for the conversion of the Indians. Father Peter Biard was summoned in 1608 from a professor's chair in Lyons to found the mission. It was evident, at once, that this was by no means pleasing to Poutrincourt, who made no provision for the passage of the missionary. When in 1610 Father Biard and his companion, Father Enemond Masse, made an attempt to go by the only vessel then fitting out for Acadia, a fund having been raised to maintain the mission with all requisites, other difficulties arose. Two Huguenots who had an interest

[1] Champlain, "Voyages," 1613, p. 16 (Quebec ed.); Slafter's "Champlain," ii., p. 35; Lescarbot, Lib. iv., c. 3, 4 (Edition 1611), pp. 453, 462.

[2] When the island was visited in 1798 by the English and American boundary commissioners, the remains of an ancient fortification could be traced though overgrown with large trees. Holmes' "Annals," i., p. 149, note; Williamson's "Maine," i., pp. 190–1, note.

in the vessel refused to allow Jesuits to embark. Antoinette de Pons, Marchioness de Guercheville, who had been an active friend of the proposed mission, at once raised means to purchase the rights of these men, and made the share in the vessel and trade thus acquired a fund for the support of the mission and the colony. Although there was no other means by which the missionaries could reach their destination, the cry was immediately raised that the Jesuits had become traders, and bad faith has repeated the charge to our day.

The vessel sailed in January, 1611, and at sea encountered Champlain on his way to Quebec. It was not till Whitsunday, May 22d, that the missionaries were able to land at Port Royal; Father Masse remained in a cabin reared for him at that place, but Father Biard accompanied Poutrincourt and subsequently his son on several excursions along the coast to the St. John's River, Ste. Croix Island, where he spent some time, and even as far west as the Kennebec. While the French were trading with the Indians at the mouth of the Kennebec late in October, Father Biard went to a neighboring island to offer the holy sacrifice, attended by a boy to serve the mass. Here the Indians overran the little vessel and assumed so dangerous and rapacious an attitude, that Biencourt would have fired on them had he not feared that the missionary would at once be butchered. This island is the second spot on that northeastern coast of our territory where mass is certainly known to have been said.

Poutrincourt, in France, had induced Madame de Guercheville to advance a thousand crowns to fit out a vessel; this was confided to a lay brother, who gave part of it to Poutrincourt. In the sequel the missionaries could obtain no part of the supplies purchased for them with the means furnished by Madame de Guercheville, on account of the joint property. On the contrary, young Biencourt, disregarding their

rights under the compact, and their character, treated the Fathers with every indignity, and when they attempted to leave the colony Biencourt prevented them.[1] In fact their position at Port Royal was rendered so insupportable that Madame Guercheville resolved to abandon all relations with Poutrincourt and establish a distinct missionary colony.

She obtained from de Monts a cession of all his rights, and King Louis XIII. made her a grant of all the territory of North America from the St. Lawrence to Florida. Poutrincourt became her vassal as he had been of du Guast. His seignory was subject to her.

To take possession of her new domain, and to establish a mission for the conversion of the Indians where Catholic priests could begin the good work unhampered by any claims or interference of proprietors or merchants, she fitted out a vessel at Honfleur under the command of the Sieur de la Saussaye. It carried Father Quentin and Brother Gilbert du Thet, with thirty persons who were to winter in the country. The vessel sailed from France, March 12, 1613, and putting in at Port Royal in May, took Fathers Biard and Masse on board, and ran along the coast. De la Saussaye intended to plant the colony at Kadesquit on the Penobscot, but after encountering storms and fogs he found himself near Mount Desert Island. His pilot ran into a fine large harbor on the eastern shore of the island. Here the missionaries landed, and planting a cross, offered the holy sacrifice of the mass, calling the port Saint Sauveur—Holy Saviour. The Indians persuaded the French to abandon the project of going up to Kadesquit, and to adopt a site recommended by them. It was on a beautiful hillside sloping to the sea; its harbor

[1] A well-known writer calls the Jesuit Fathers mutineers. They were the equals of Poutrincourt under the compact, and the deputy of one partner could not treat another partner as a mutineer.

covered by Mount Desert and several smaller islands. Two streams of water flowed from the hill, and the ground was rich and productive.[1] Here the settlement was laid out about the middle of June, but de la Saussaye, instead of fortifying a position, employed the men in planting grain, beans, and other garden vegetables. In September the vessel was still there, and the missionaries and settlers in the tents and temporary houses raised on the shore, when during a temporary absence of the commander, an English vessel from Virginia under Samuel Argal appeared and opened fire on de Saussaye's vessel, which soon surrendered, Brother du Thet being mortally wounded by a musket-ball. Argal then landed, carried off the French commander's commission and plundered the little settlement, treating the party as intruders on English territory.

An unprovoked attack by men pretending to be Christians on a mission station established for the conversion of the heathen, followed by bloodshed and indiscriminate plunder, has no parallel in history. Virginia shares the infamy by endorsing Argal's action, as England does by refusing reparation.

Argal put Father Masse and fourteen Frenchmen in a small craft and turned them adrift; Fathers Biard and Quentin were carried to Virginia, then ruled by a code of blood, where Sir Thomas Dale threatened to hang all the prisoners. Finally, resolving to extirpate the French settlements, he sent Argal back with a considerable force. The English vessels carried the missionaries and many of the French prisoners, who were glad to escape from the soil of Virginia. Argal completed the destruction at St. Saviour, then demolished the post on Ste. Croix Island and that at Port Royal, where Bien-

[1] Parkman following E. L. Hamlin, of Bangor, thinks the position was on Mount Desert Island, on the western side of Soames Sound.

court showed his hatred of the missionaries. On the voyage back, the vessel containing the two Jesuits was driven to the Azores, but finally reached England, whence in time the survivors of a missionary settlement thus broken up by men boasting of Christianity, were allowed to reach their native land.

It never could have entered into the mind of the missionaries or their protectors, that war would be made on a mission station, or they never would have attempted to plant one so near the Kennebec, already more than once visited by the English.[1]

Samuel Champlain had been connected with de Monts in the attempt to colonize Port Royal. In 1608 he and Pontgravé were sent out with two vessels to establish a post on the Saint Lawrence. Above Isle Orleans, on a height which formed a natural fortification, Champlain founded a city retaining the name Quebec, given to the narrows by the neighboring Montagnais Indians. Some temporary buildings reared July 3, 1608, were the commencement of Canada. De Monts thought only of trading-posts, but Champlain's projects were nobler and more patriotic; he wished to build up a colony, and make the conversion of the natives an object. Gaining the friendship of the Algonquin tribes on the St. Lawrence and Ottawa, he opened trade with the Hurons, Indians of a different race, dwelling near the lake that now bears their name. To retain the friendship of these tribes, it became necessary to aid them in their wars with a confederacy

[1] The story of this mission is told in Biard, "Relation de la Nouvelle France," Lyons, 1616; Champlain, "Voyages," Paris, 1613; "Annuæ Litteræ Societatis Iesv," Dilingæ, 1611; Lyons, 1618; Juvencius, "Hist. Societatis Jesu"; Carayon, "Première Mission des Jesuites au Canada," Paris, 1864, pp. 1–116; Charlevoix, "History of New France," i., pp. 260–284. Lescarbot, "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," (Ed. 1618), pp. 681–86, is extremely hostile to the missionaries.

of five nations, kindred in origin to the Hurons, who lay south of Lake Ontario.

The little French settlement prospered, and in 1614 Champlain obtained from France four Franciscan Fathers of the Recollect reform to minister to the French settlers and to convert the natives. With Father Denis Jamay, the Commissary or Superior, came Fathers John d'Olbeau and Joseph le Caron, with the lay brother, Pacificus du Plessis. The religious reached Tadoussac on the feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1615. They soon began their labors at the trading-posts established by the French, and among the Montagnais Indians on the St. Lawrence, while Father Joseph le Caron embarking with some canoes of the Hurons penetrated to the villages of that nation. The Recollects soon learned the two great languages of Canada, the Algonquin and Huron, and preached the gospel far and wide; but though others of their order came to share their labors, they saw that the field was too vast for them to occupy profitably. Thereupon they invited the Fathers of the Society of Jesus to join them, and in 1625 Fathers Charles Lalemant, Enemond Masse, and John de Brébeuf arrived, to be welcomed by the Recollects, but to be eyed with distrust by many of the French who were full of the prejudices inspired by the Huguenots. The missions were then more zealously extended, and in the autumn of 1626 Father Joseph de la Roche Daillon, a Recollect of noble family, set out from the Huron country for the towns of the Neuter nation, who occupied both banks of the Niagara, and reached their frontier nearest to the Senecas, but barely escaped with life.

This zealous religious was, so far as can now be ascertained, the first Catholic priest from Canada who penetrated into the present territory of the United States. He carried back a knowledge of the people, and of the country, noting among the products the mineral oil.

The new colony of Canada had, however, but a feeble life. Neglected by the government at home, it was soon at the lowest extremity, and in July, 1629, Champlain surrendered to Captain David Kirk, an English commander, who appeared with a fleet before the starving post of Quebec. The Recollects and Jesuits were all carried off by the English, and Catholicity had no altar or worship till the restoration of the country.[1]

When England, by the treaty of Saint Germain des Près in 1632, finally restored Canada to France, after dishonorably retaining a province, captured when peace had been declared between the two powers, Cardinal Richelieu offered the Canada mission to the Capuchins, but the religious of that reform seeing by the voyages of Champlain and the works of the Recollect Brother Sagard, how vast a field awaited evangelical laborers, even in the territory that French energy had laid open in twenty years, in itself a mere portal to immense unexplored regions, declined to undertake the task. The great Cardinal then summoned to the task the Society of Jesus, excluding the Recollects entirely. The passport of the first Jesuit missionaries was signed by the hand of his Eminence himself.[2]

The second Jesuit mission in Canada began with the landing at Quebec July 15, 1632, of Fathers Paul le Jeune and Anne de Noue, with a lay brother. It was a small beginning where all was to be accomplished, a home and chapel to be reared amid the embers of Champlain's first town, and then

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[1] For this earlier period see Sagard, "Grand Voyage du Pais des Hurons," Paris, 1632; "Histoire du Canada," Paris, 1636; Le Clercq, "Etablissement de la Foi," 2 vols., Paris, 1690—in English, New York, 1881; Champlain, "Voyages," 1603, 1613, 1619, 1632.

[2] I saw it some years ago in the Bureau des Terres, Montreal, but it has since disappeared.

a continent to be occupied. Other missionaries soon came; and throughout France in the gay circles of the Court, in the chateaus of the provincial nobles, in college and convent, among merchants and artisans, an interest was excited in the missions of New France. Annually for forty years a little volume appeared in cheap form, giving letters of the missionaries, so that their hopes and struggles, their sufferings and triumphs, were familiar to the pious of every rank in France. Quebec was controlled by great commercial companies, Acadia by corporations formed for fishery; the zeal excited in France inspired the Venerable John Olier, founder of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, to project the establishment of a settlement in Canada, to be entirely guided by religious motives. From this great thought arose the city of Montreal, of which the Jesuits were the first pastors.

The Catholic life of Canada grew, developing from these two centres, Quebec and Montreal, controlled by the Archbishops of Rouen through local vicars-general, each city establishing houses of education for both sexes, convents, hospitals, and confraternities among the faithful.

The Jesuits resumed the missions begun by the Recollects on the Saint Lawrence and on the banks of Lake Huron, in which members of their own order had already labored. The Sulpitians, guiding in the paths of Christian virtue the settlers in and around the city of Montreal, never extended their Indian missions far after an attempt to explore the West. A temporary effort in Quinte Bay and a great mission at Oswegatchie, now Ogdensburg, mark their limit.

The Jesuits, except in the district attended by the Sulpitians, had for many years sole charge of all the French settlements and the religious communities that grew up there, together with the Indian missions in Canada.

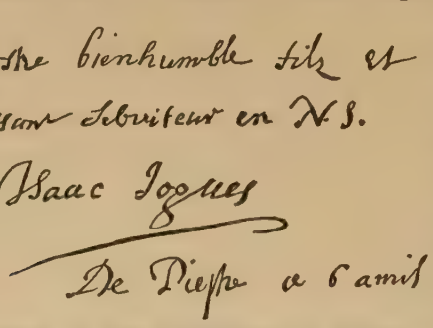
The French settlements were chiefly at Tadoussac, a great

trading post; Quebec, Isle Orleans, Three Rivers, Montreal, to which the Hurons and their allies further west came down on flotillas of canoes by the way of the Ottawa River. The trading establishment at the Rapids above Montreal was the frontier post of the French.

Under the zealous labors of Father Brébeuf and his associates, men like Fathers Charles Garnier, Anthony Daniel, Leonard Garreau, Chatelain, Jogues, Raymbaut, many were converted in the great Wyandot or Huron nation, and in the kindred Tionontates. The long route to and from their stations near Lake Huron became annually more difficult and dangerous, as the Iroquois or Five Nations supplied with firearms by the Dutch at Manhattan waylaid the Indian flotillas descending to trade or returning from Quebec, at a hundred points along the tedious and difficult course. Yet it was only by these flotillas of bark canoes that the missionaries could reach the mission field, or return to the French colony when the necessities of the Huron church required it. With a few lay brothers, and some devoted men who gave their services to the mission, the Jesuits could raise wheat and make wine for the celebration of mass; but clothing, books, paper, medicines, implements of various kinds, could be had only in the colony; and sometimes the interruption of navigation was so prolonged that the missionaries suffered greatly.

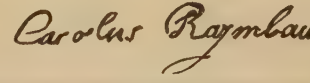
Yet so far were they from any idea of abandoning the field which Providence had placed under their care, that they planned the extension of their missions further west. In the summer of 1642, a peculiar institution of the cluster of tribes to which the Hurons belonged, known as the Feast of the Dead, gathered in the Huron country delegates from all tribes with whom they held friendly relations. Then, amid solemn rites and games, the bones of those buried temporarily

during the last ten years were committed to a common grave, richly lined with furs, and with them articles regarded as of highest value. The Chippewa envoys to this ceremony, who came from the outlet of Lake Superior, invited the black gowns to visit their country; and when the Feast of the Dead was ended and the Chippewas launched their canoes on Lake Huron, Father Charles Raymbaut and Father Isaac Jogues were selected to accompany them. Setting out from the mission-house of St. Mary's, a sail of seventeen days over the lake brought the two priestly pioneers to the rapid outlet, which received from them the name it still bears, Sault St. Mary's.



FAC-SIMILE OF THE HANDWRITING OF FATHER ISAAC JOGUES.

Here, in October, 1641, the Church of Canada, starting from Quebec as a centre, again reached the present territory of the United States. Here the two Jesuits planted the Cross of Christianity, looking still further west, and forming plans for the conversion of the Dakotas, of whom they heard by their Algonquin name, Nadouessis.[1]



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER CHARLES RAYMBAUT.

Father Isaac Jogues, who thus stands as one of the two pioneer priests of Michigan, was destined soon to be the

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1642, pp. 97–8.

pioneer priest of another State. On the 2d of June, 1642, he and Father Raymbaut embarked in the Huron canoes, descending the great water highways; Father Raymbaut, whose health was shattered, was to remain in the French colony; Father Jogues was to return with the Indians after the trade, bringing with him supplies the Huron mission sorely needed. The journey descending and returning was fraught with danger from lurking parties of the Mohawks. They reached Quebec safely, and Father Jogues enjoyed for a season the pleasure of mingling among his brethren and his countrymen. On the 1st of August the missionary, with two Frenchmen, René Goupil, a candidate for entrance into the Society, and William Couture, embarked with the Hurons from Three Rivers, the great Chief Ahasistari being in command. Over-confident in their numbers and bravery, the Hurons, when suddenly attacked by the Mohawks, landed in confusion and were soon routed. A few only with the two Frenchmen made any stand. Father Jogues might have escaped, but he would not desert his flock; Ahasistari and the few brave Hurons who remained with the Frenchmen were soon overpowered. The prisoners then underwent the usual Indian cruelties; they were beaten to insensibility, mangled, and hacked. Father Jogues had his nails torn out, and his forefingers crunched till the last bone was completely crushed. Then the Mohawks compelled their prisoners to begin a terrible march to the Mohawk. On their way they encountered on an island in Lake Champlain a war party just setting out. This, to ensure courage and success, wreaked its savage cruelty on the prisoners.[1] Father Jogues finally, on the 14th of August, reached Ossernenon, the first Mohawk town, near

[1] Smith's Island, near Westport, is traditionally believed to be the spot hallowed by the sufferings of these illustrious missionaries and their disciples. A cross keeps the memory alive.

the present station of Auriesville, in Montgomery County. Here, after crossing the river, the prisoners were forced to run the gauntlet, and were placed on a platform for further cruelties. All the prisoners were cut and mutilated. Father Jogues had his left thumb sawed off at the root, an Algonquin woman being forced to execute the savage cruelty. Then followed days of torture in each of the towns of the nation, the missionary forgetting his own sufferings to instruct and baptize those of his own party not yet received into the Church, or others brought in by other war parties. When the council of the tribe finally decided the fate of the prisoners, several Hurons were burned at the stake, including the brave Ahasistari; but the lives of the Frenchmen were spared. No care was taken of their terrible wounds, and though the Dutch endeavored to ransom the European captives, the Indians refused to part with them. The next month René Goupil was killed while returning to Ossernenon with the missionary and reciting the rosary. The Indians regarded his prayers, and especially the Sign of the Cross, as magical acts for their injury, the making the sign on a child being the immediate cause of his death. Father Jogues endeavored to secure and bury the body of his companion, but it was maliciously carried away. The good priest, who has left us an account of his young comrade, attests his deep and earnest piety, his zeal, and his services as a medical assistant to the missionaries, whom he had voluntarily joined from religious motives, and served with no hope of reward.[1] Then began for Father Jogues a long and terrible captivity, in which his chief consolation was that of attending prisoners at the stake, and the instruction of a few

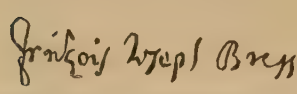
[1] René Goupil had been a novice of the Society of Jesus in France, but his health failed, and he came to America, hoping to enter in time. Father Jogues received him before his death.

Mohawks in sickness, whom he taught to look to God for forgiveness and grace. As the slave of savages he attended hunting and fishing parties, till at last when at Fort Orange, now Albany, he heard that he was to be put to death on his return. The Dutch urged him to escape, promising him protection. During the night he reached a vessel lying in the North River, near the Fort, but the Indians, on discovering their loss, became so menacing, that he was taken ashore, to be given up, if necessary, to save the lives of the Dutch. The Mohawks were, however, finally appeased, and the missionary, who had been confined with great discomfort, was taken down to the fort on Manhattan Island, around which had clustered a few cabins, the commencement of the great city of New York. In New Amsterdam, as the place was then called, Father Jogues found but two Catholics, the Portuguese wife of a soldier, and an Irishman, recently from Maryland. His sufferings evoked the sympathy of all the Dutch, from their director, William Kieft, and the minister, Dominie Megapolensis, to the poorest. The Director of the Colony gave him passage in a small vessel he was dispatching to Holland, but the missionary had opportunity for additional suffering, and after being driven upon the English coast, reached his native land, just in time to celebrate the feast of Christmas.

The future State of New York had thus been traversed from north to south by a great and heroic priest. Another soon followed him in the same path of suffering.

At the close of April, 1644, Father Joseph Bressani, a native of Rome, who had been two years on the Canada mission, soon after leaving Three Rivers with a Huron party, also fell into the hands of the Mohawks. This priest was not severely maltreated till his captors met a war party, when he was cruelly beaten with clubs, but on arriving at a large

fishing village, the prisoners were compelled to run the gauntlet. Father Bressani's hand was cloven open; he was stabbed and burned all over his body, indeed his hands were burned no less than eighteen times; a stake was driven through his foot, his hair and beard torn out by the roots. On reaching Ossernenon his tortures were renewed; his left thumb and two fingers of the right hand were cut off; but the council of the tribe spared his life, and gave him to an old woman. His terrible wounds and ulcers brought him nearly to the grave; but he rallied and was taken to the Dutch, who, effecting his ransom, sent him also to Europe. He arrived in Rochelle November 15, 1644.[1]



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF FATHER FRANCIS J. BRESSANI.

Father Jogues, honored in France as a martyr of Christ, had but one desire, and it was to return to his mission. He solicited from the Sovereign Pontiff permission to say mass with his mutilated hands, and it was given in words that have become historic: "Indignum esse Christi martyrem Christi non bibere sanguinem." He sailed from Rochelle in the spring of 1644, and was stationed at Montreal. Summoned thence in July, he attended negotiations with the Mohawks at Three Rivers, where peace was concluded, but its ratification was delayed. In May, 1646, Father Jogues and John Bourdon were sent to the Mohawk country to ratify it firmly. Passing through Lake George, to which he gave the name of "Lac St. Sacrement," as he reached it on the feast of Corpus Christi, Father Jogues, with his companion, arrived at the Mohawk castles, and peace was

[1] Father Bressani relates his own sufferings in his "Breve Relazione," Macerata, 1653; in French, Montreal, 1852; see also "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1644, ch. 9.

FATHER ISAAC JOGUES, S.J.

K. AWUESVILLE, N.Y. OCT. 18TH 1646

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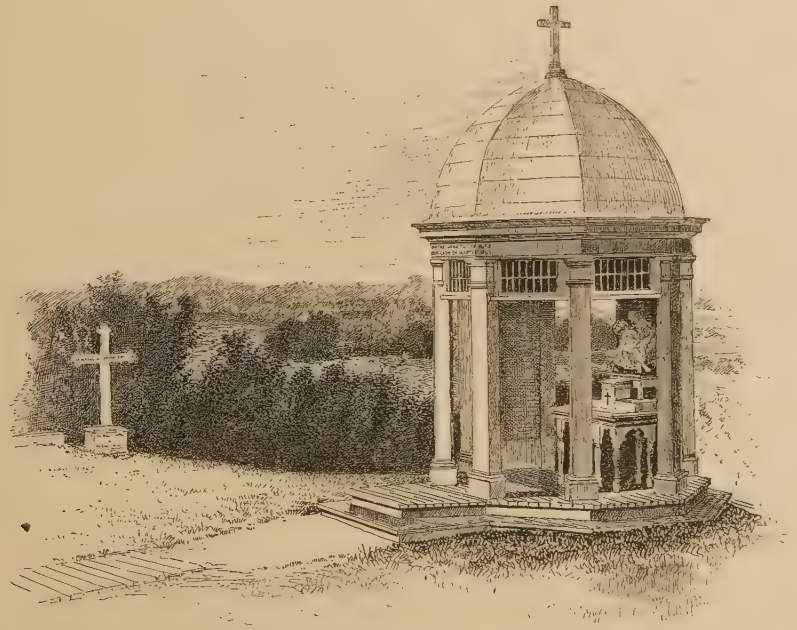
apparently established. One great object was to cement this peace by establishing a mission in the Mohawk country. Father Jogues had come prepared to do so; but leaving a small box containing his mission requisites, he returned with his fellow envoy to Canada. There the foundation of the Mohawk mission was decided upon, and Father Jogues set out for his dangerous post, accompanied by a young man named John de la Lande. The Mohawks had, however, already resolved to renew the war, and parties of their braves were then stealthily approaching the unsuspecting French settlements. Father Jogues and his companions fell into the hands of one of these parties. Deaf to his protests and his remonstrance the Mohawks stripped and maltreated the missionary and his companions, and led them as prisoners to Ossernenon, which they entered on the 19th of October, 1646, amid blows and execrations. One clan tried to save the missionary, but while a council was in session an Indian summoned him. Father Jogues rose to follow, but as he entered a cabin he was struck down lifeless by a blow of a tomahawk. His head was cut off and set on one of the palisades of Ossernenon, his body was thrown into the Mohawk, which next morning bore down its tide the murdered bodies of la Lande and a Huron guide. The Dutch learned, and deploring his fate made it known to the authorities in Canada. So ended the first attempt of the Church of Canada to extend its work of evangelization over any part of the soil of New York. Father Jogues died without the consolation of once offering the Holy Sacrifice on the banks of the Mohawk. Father Isaac Jogues, a native of Orleans, was a man of polished learning, gentle, enduring, firm, and had impressed all who knew him in Canada as a priest of singular virtue, perfect forgetfulness of self, and untiring zeal. His death raised him in the minds of all to the rank of a martyr.

His intercession was invoked in Canada and France, and miraculous favors were ascribed to him. The narrative of his sufferings and death was drawn up under the authority of the Archbishop of Rouen, and attested by oath to serve in any process for his canonization. In the Catholic body that now permeates the great population of the Republic, devotion to this early priest has become general; and the third Plenary Council in Baltimore, in November, 1884, formally petitioned the Vicar of Christ that the cause of his canonization might be introduced.[1]

Contemporaneous with this effort from Canada to establish the Church on the Mohawk, more consoling results were seen in Maine. The Recollects of the province of Aquitaine, in France, came over in 1619 to attend the establishments begun in Acadia by sedentary fishery and fur companies

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1642; 1643, ch. 12, 14; 1647, ch. 4–7; Creuxius, "Historia Canadensis," pp. 338–500; Tanner, "Societas Militans," Prague, 1675, p. 510; "Concilium Plenarium Baltimorense III," Baltimore, 1886, p. lxiv. This servant of God was born at Orleans, France, of a family still honored there, January 10, 1607. Entering a Jesuit college at the age of ten, he solicited entrance into the Society of Jesus and began his novitiate October 24, 1624. As novice and as scholastic, student and teacher, he was regarded as a model. Considering himself as one of little ability for learning, he solicited a foreign mission, and having been assigned to Canada, was ordained in 1636 to be sent to that severe field. He evinced skill in acquiring a knowledge of the Huron character and language, and was a patient, successful, uncomplaining missioner, ready for any peril. In the hour of trial he showed the heroic degree to which he had ascended by his life of prayer and union with God. His life has been written by Father Felix Martin, S.J. Paris, 1873; New York, 1885. His writings, including a narrative of his captivity, a notice of René Goupil, and an account of New Netherland in 1642, have been published in a volume of the "Collections of the New York Historical Society." The site of Ossernenon has been identified by the exhaustive topographical studies of General John S. Clark, of Auburn, and it has been acquired by the Society of Jesus. A pilgrimage to the spot took place in August, 1884, when the little chapel was opened.



CHAPEL NEAR AURIESVILLE, MONTGOMERY CO., N. Y. (OSSERNENON), TO COMMEMORATE THE DEATH OF FATHER JOGUES AND RENÉ GOUPIL.

founded at Bordeaux. Their chief station and chapel were on St. John's River, and several Fathers labored in that district till 1624, one dying of hardship in the woods. They then retired to Quebec, probably crossing part of Maine on the way.[1] Though they resumed their missions, they were driven out by the English in 1628; but even before the restoration of Canada to France, Recollect Fathers from the province of Aquitaine were again sent out in 1630.[2] Three years afterward, however, Cardinal Richelieu gave orders for their recall, and committed the Acadian mission to the Fathers of the Capuchin Order.[3]

Of the extent of their labors there is no doubt. The Capuchins of the province of Paris, accepting the field assigned to them, sent missionaries who attended the French along the coast from Chaleurs Bay to the Kennebec. Their countrymen constituted a floating population—of small proportion in winter, but swelling in summer to thousands—as is the case to this day at Saint Pierre and Miquelon.[4]

The conversion of the Indians was one of the main objects of the mission, and the establishment of a seminary for the instruction of the young natives was especially provided for. Cardinal Richelieu had in 1635 become a partner in a company for settling Acadia, and in 1640 he transferred all his

[1] Le Clercq, "Establishment of the Faith," i., pp. 199, 227.

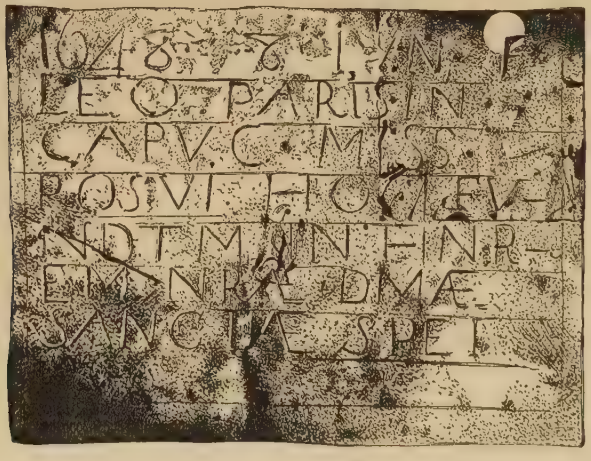
[2] Champlain, "Voyages" (Prince edn.), i., p. 298.

[3] Faillon, "Histoire de la Colonie Française," i., p. 280; Letter of Bouthillier, secretary of state, March 16, 1633, cited by Moreau, "Histoire de l'Acadie Françoise," Paris, 1873, p. 131; Faillon, "Histoire de la Colonie Française," i., p. 280. D'Aulnay received the Capuchins, but La Tour retained Recollect Fathers till his open mockery of the Catholic religion compelled them to withdraw in January, 1645; Moreau, pp. 131, 211.

[4] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1651, pp. 14–15; Charlevoix, "History of New France," ii., p. 202, says Druillettes found the Capuchins on the Kennebec, but the "Relation" of 1647 makes this doubtful.

rights to the Capuchin Fathers as a fund for the foundation and maintenance of this Indian school, so that the great Cardinal of France was actively interested in the Christian education of New England Indians long before Plymouth or Massachusetts Bay or the British rulers had paid any attention to it.[1]

The centre of the mission was at Port Royal, but there were stations attended by the Capuchins as far east as



FAC-SIMILE OF COPPER-PLATE FROM FOUNDATION OF CHAPEL OF OUR LADY OF HOLY HOPE, FOUND IN 1863.

the Kennebec[2] and Penobscot. Among those who were stationed at the French post of Pentagoet on the Penobscot

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[1] F. Pacificus de Provins, "Relazione," March 9, 1644, MS.

[2] Moreau, "Histoire de l'Acadie Française," pp. 137, 164, 167. D'Aulnay was eventually selected to administer the revenues of the portion belonging to the Capuchins. Father Leonard of Chartres for baptizing a child which, with its mother, was in danger of death, was mortally wounded by an Indian. Before they could reach the hospice with the dying Capuchin, the post was captured by the English, and he was taken to a neighboring island, where he expired. See "Bullarium Capuccino-

may be named Father Leo of Paris, Father Cosmas de Mante, Father Bernardine de Crespy, and the Lay Brother Elzear de St. Florentin. Their chapel, which bore the title of Our Lady of Holy Hope, was evidently reared not far from the lower fort at the present town of Castine, for in the autumn of 1863 a copper-plate was found but little below the surface of the soil, which bore an inscription proving that it had once been in the corner-stone of the Catholic chapel. It ran thus:—"1648: 8 Jun: F. Leo Parisin Capvc: Miss posvi hoc fvndtm in hnrem Nræ Dmæ Sanctæ Spei." "On the 8th of June, 1648, I, Friar Leo of Paris, Capuchin missionary, laid this corner-stone in honor of Our Lady of Holy Hope." It was apparently one of the last acts of this missionary, for in October of the same year his post was filled by Father Cosmas de Mante.

While the Capuchin Fathers were thus engaged at Pentagoet, the Abnaki Indians on the Kennebec, who had through kindred Algonquin tribes visited the French at Quebec, asked for missionaries. As they at a later period told the people of New England, when they went to Canada they were not asked whether they had any furs, but whether they had been taught to worship the true God.

The Superior of the Jesuit Mission took the matter into consideration, and on the same day, August 21, 1646, that it was decided to send Father Isaac Jogues to the Mohawk, it was also unanimously agreed that Father Gabriel Druillettes should proceed with the Abnakis to found on the Kennebec the Mission of the Assumption. He left Sillery August

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rum," v., p. 28; F. Ignatius of Paris, "Brevis . . . descriptio," MS.; "Eloges des Illustres Capucins de la Ville de Paris," MS. This last gives his death as in 1649, but it was more probably in 1655. The "Annales des Pères Capucins," in the Mazarin library, unfortunately has no portion devoted to the Acadian mission.

29th, accompanied by Claude, a good Christian Indian, to winter with the Abnakis, and with his Indian guides, by canoe and portage, he in time reached their village on the Kennebec. Here he set to work to learn the language by means of the Algonquin, which he had already acquired. The sick he instructed as well as he could, and children in danger of death were baptized. He visited an English post on the river, and subsequently with his Indian guides descended to the sea and coasted along to Pentagoet. The Superior of the Capuchins, Father Ignatius of Paris, and his associates received the Jesuit Father at their hospice with every mark of affection, and Druillettes, after a short stay, returned to his mission, with a letter from the French commandant at Pentagoet to the English authorities.

FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER GABRIEL DRUILLETTES.

A league above the English post on the Kennebec the Abnakis gathered in a little village, consisting of fifteen communal houses. Here they erected a little plank chapel in their style for the missionary. As he could by this time speak the language with some fluency, he taught them the necessity of believing in God, the Creator of mankind, the rewarder of the good, and the punisher of the wicked. He impressed on them above all to renounce the use of liquors offered them by traders, to avoid quarrels, and to throw aside the manitous in which each one confided. Following them in their winter hunt he continued his instructions in the fundamental truths of Christianity, and taught them the ordinary prayers which he had translated into their language.

After revisiting the English post he returned to Quebec in June.[1] He fully expected to continue his mission; but

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1647, ch. x. (Quebec ed., pp. 51–

he was soon followed by another Indian party who bore a letter from the Capuchins, deprecating the establishment of a mission in territory specially assigned to them. The Superior of the Jesuit Missions in Canada at once relinquished a field that seemed full of promise.[1]

But the revolt of La Tour against orders from France and the consequent struggle between him and the Sieur Aulnay de Charnisay, in whose district the Capuchins were, menaced all the French establishments, for La Tour obtained aid from the English at Boston, though d'Aulnay sent an envoy there, a Mr. Marie, whom the people of Massachusetts supposed to be one of the Capuchin Fathers.[2]

Foreboding apparently the close of their mission amid these distracting scenes, Fathers Cosmas de Mante and Gabriel de Joinville visited Canada, and were in 1648 at the Indian mission at Sillery.[3] The former, evidently convinced by the results he witnessed, addressed the Jesuit Superior, begging him, in most touching terms, to renew the Abnaki mission and give the poor Indians and others all the assistance his courageous and untiring charity could afford.[4] But it was not till two years later that the Society of Jesus could take steps to continue the Mission of the Assumption.

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56); "Journal des Jésuites," pp. 44, 63, 88; Creuxius, "Historia Canadensis," p. 483.

[1] "Journal des Jésuites," 1647, July 3–4, p. 91.

[2] Murdoch, "Nova Scotia," Halifax, 1865, i., pp. 105, 107. Indians of St. John's River, incited by La Tour, attacked one of d'Aulnay's sloops, carrying off a soldier and one of the Capuchin Fathers, killing the soldier. Moreau, p. 155. The Letters Patent of the King to d'Aulnay de Charnisay, February, 1647, in the "Collection de Manuscrits," Quebec, 1883, pp. 120–24, speak highly of his establishment of the Capuchin missions and schools.

[3] "Registre de Sillery," cited by Tainguay, "Repertoire Général," pp. 41–2.

[4] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1651, p. 14.

In 1650 Father Gabriel Druillettes was again granted to the prayers of the Abnakis, who had year after year solicited his return. On the last day of August, though spent with a laborious winter mission on the shores of the gulf, he took up his staff to accompany the Indians to their lodges on the Kennebec. The patient, self-denying Jesuit, went also in a new character. He bore letters accrediting him to the governing powers in New England, with whom the Canadian authorities proposed a free intercolonial trade, and to whose humanity they appealed for aid or volunteers, to check the Iroquois who menaced all that was Christian. Four-and-twenty days of hardship and suffering brought the missionary to Norridgewalk, where he was received with rapture. The chief cried out as he embraced the missionary: "I see well that the Great Spirit who rules in the heavens, vouchsafes to look on us with favor, since He sends our patriarch back to us."

With souls thus prepared his mission labors were full of consolation. Visiting the English post to forward letters announcing the nature of the commission confided to him, he continued his priestly work till November, when he set out for Boston with Noel Negabamat, the Chief of Sillery, embarking at Merry Meeting Bay, with John Winslow, whom the missionary calls his Pereira, alluding to the friend of St. Francis Xavier.

At Boston Major-General Gibbons received him courteously. Father Druillettes says: "He gave me the key of a room in his house, where I could in all liberty say my prayers and perform the exercises of my religion." As he would naturally carry his missionary chapel service with him, we may infer that Father Druillettes offered the holy sacrifice in Boston in December, 1650. He delivered his credentials, urging the cause of his countrymen and the claims of his

neophytes, which he pleaded also at Plymouth. At Roxbury he visited Eliot, who pressed him to remain under his roof till spring, but winter had no terrors for him. After receiving a reply from the governor and presenting his case to the leading men, he sailed early in January for the Kennebec, and in the following month resumed his missionary labors. He returned to Canada in June, but was again accredited in a more formal manner as envoy with Mr. Godefroy to the Commissioners of the New England Colonies, who were to meet at New Haven. Thither the missionary and his associate proceeded, and in September, 1651, the Catholic priest pleaded in vain for a brotherhood of nations, and for a combined action against a destroying heathen power. The visit of a priest to New England, whose Christian civilization, three years before, had embodied its claims to the respect of posterity in a law expelling every Jesuit and dooming him to the gallows if he returned, is, in itself, a most curious episode.[1]

After concluding his diplomatic functions in Boston and New Haven, he returned to his little flock on the Kennebec, and spent the winter instructing and grounding them in the doctrines of Christianity. After many hardships he reached Quebec in March, 1652.[2]

For some years after these missions of Father Druillettes on the Kennebec, no further attempt was made to establish the church at Norridgewalk, but the Abnakis kept the faith alive by visits to Sillery and other missions in Canada.

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[1] Druillettes, "Narré du Voyage," 1650–1, Albany, 1855; "Recueil de Pieces sur la Negotiation entre la Nouv. France et la Nouv. Angleterre," New York, 1866; Charlevoix, "History of New France," ii., pp. 201–18; Hazard, "Collections," ii., pp. 183–4; Hutchinson, "Collection," i., p. 269.

[2] "Journal des Jésuites," 30 Mars, 1652.

Nor were the Capuchin missions to be much longer continued.

Brother Elzear de St. Florentin spent ten years in St. Peter's fort at Pentagoet, becoming thoroughly versed in the Indian language, and gaining many by his instructions, which his exemplary life corroborated. In 1655 the Very Rev. Father Bernardine de Crespy, the missionary at Pentagoet, was carried off to England by an expedition sent out by Cromwell,[1] and the Catholic French on the coast, as well as the Indian converts, were deprived of the services of their religion.

The war declared by the Iroquois on the French and their allies, when the Mohawks so treacherously made Father Jogues a prisoner and put him to death, was carried on with the greatest vigor; the Montagnais of the St. Lawrence, the Algonquins of the Ottawa, the Attikamegues, were nearly annihilated, and the great Huron, Tionontate, and Neuter Nations, though living in palisaded castles, saw town after town captured by their daring enemy. The upper country became a desert; the surviving Hurons and Tionontates fled to Lake Superior or descended to Quebec to seek a refuge under the canons of the French. The little colony of Canada suffered fearfully. The Huron missions were destroyed, Fathers Anthony Daniel, John de Brébeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, Charles Garnier, and Noel Chabanel perishing amid their flocks, Brébeuf and Lalemant undergoing at the stake the utmost fury of the savages. Father James Buteux was slain among his faithful Attikamegues; the secular priests, Rev.

[1] F. Ignatius of Paris, "Breuis ac dilucida Missionis Accadiæ Descriptio," MS.; Moreau, "Histoire de l'Acadie," p. 263. In the struggle of d'Aulnay, who endeavored to carry out the orders and decisions of tribunals in France, and of the Court, against La Tour, the Capuchins labored in the interest of peace, on one occasion obtaining liberty for La Tour and his wife. Moreau, p. 160.

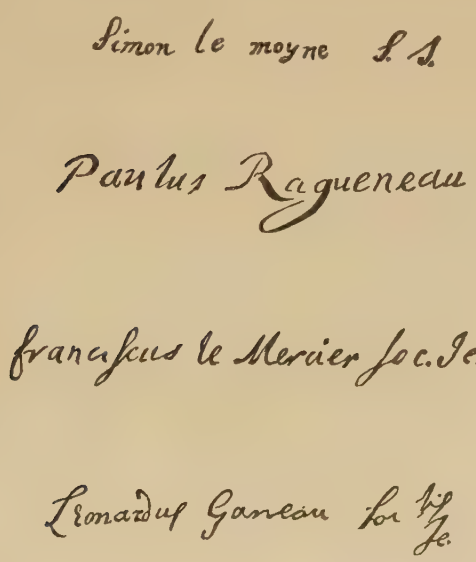
Messrs. Lemaitre and Vignal, were killed in the neighborhood of Montreal; Father Joseph Poncet, while engaged in a work of charity, was captured in August, 1653, by a band of Mohawks, was hurried through the forest trails to their village, undergoing privation, hardship, and great torture, his hands being frightfully lacerated and burned. At the Hudson he and his companion were stripped, and forced to run the gauntlet of a party whom they encountered. At the Mohawk village the missionary was exposed on a scaffold, and the Indians made a boy, not more than five years old, hack off the second finger of his left hand, and then staunch the blood with a hot coal. Taken the next day to another town, this missionary was burned by day with pipes and firebrands at any one's fancy, and hung up at night in ropes. The council called to decide on his fate spared his life, and gave him to an old woman. The Dutch of Fort Orange, to whom he was taken, dressed his wounds. Here he met Radisson, afterwards famous in Canadian annals, who had been taken prisoner also, and a Belgian from Brussels, both of whom approached the sacrament of penance. Meanwhile it had been decided by the Mohawk sachems to restore the missionary to the French and propose peace. In October he set out with a party, and after a laborious march reached Montreal.[1]

FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF FATHER JOSEPH PONCET.

Thus, at a moment when the prospect of the Church in Canada seemed beset on all sides by danger and difficulty, when any extension toward the Atlantic or the great unknown West seemed impossible, peace came not only with

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1653, ch. 4 (Quebec ed., pp. 9–17).

startling suddenness, but in such a form that the way for the gospel was opened into the very heart of the Confederacy which had hitherto been the great obstacle. The blood of the martyred missionaries had pleaded, and not in vain, for the conversion of the Iroquois.



FAC-SIMILES OF THE SIGNATURES OF FATHERS LE MOYNE, RAGUENEAU, LE MERCIER, AND GARREAU.

## CHAPTER II.

THE JURISDICTION OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF ROUEN—THE FIRST ONONDAGA MISSION—MGR. LAVAL, VICAR-APOSTOLIC—THE MISSION ON THE UPPER LAKES. 1653–1661.

The extension of the Catholic Church of Canada to our present territory in a permanent manner, is coeval with the establishment and recognition of the jurisdiction of the Archbishops of Rouen over the portion of North America which the adventurous sons of France were exploring and claiming for their monarch. The earlier missionaries came in most cases with faculties from the diocese of Rouen. As settlements grew up, they were vaguely regarded as part of that bishopric, but no jurisdictional act recognized the transatlantic authority of the French prelate. As religious communities of women arose, however, the question of episcopal authority required a distinct settlement.

Accordingly the Jesuit missionaries in Canada sent Father Vimont to France, and application was made to the Most Rev. Francis de Harlay, Archbishop of Rouen, who, in 1647, appointed Father Jerome Lalemant, the Superior of the Missions in Canada, his Vicar-General. These powers were renewed by his successor, Francis de Harlay Champallon, in 1653, and in that year a Bull of Jubilee from the Pope was publicly proclaimed in Canada by the authority of the Archbishop of Rouen, and accompanied by his pastoral. As the Church spread in Maine, New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, to use the names now borne by these districts, the authority

of the See of Rouen was recognized till the Holy See formed the French colony into a vicariate.[1]

There was a general movement among the Iroquois cantons in favor of peace with the French. Though war parties were in the field, the Onondagas proposed negotiations, and when their advances were favorably received, they induced the Oneidas and Cayugas to adopt the same course: the Mohawks, who had suffered heavily by war, sent back Father Poncet, so that all but the Senecas on the extreme west were in accord.[2]

Human policy, the wish to gain time to crush other enemies, discontent with their Dutch neighbors, may have had their influence, but they do not altogether explain the general desire of the Iroquois for peace.

The treaty was actually concluded, and it became necessary to send some person to ratify it in the Iroquois cantons. The envoy was to undertake the task which cost Father Isaac Jogues his life. Yet there was no trouble in finding a Jesuit to assume a peril-fraught position. Father Simon le Moyne had succeeded to the Indian name of Isaac Jogues, and was ready to follow his footsteps as envoy of peace to an Iroquois canton. Putting his life into the hands of the Almighty, he set out in July, 1654, with his Onondaga guides, ascending the Saint Lawrence by paddling and portage to the great lake, Ontario. Skirting its southern shore, he arrived at a fishing village, where he found some of his old Huron

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[1] Faillon, "Histoire de la Colonie Française," i., p. 280, says that the Jesuit Fathers who came over in 1633 applied to the Archbishop of Rouen.

[2] "Journal des Jesuites," August, 1653, pp. 185–7. The first attempt to have a bishop's see established in Canada, emanated from the Recollects. Faillon, i., p. 282; Le Clercq, "Establishment of the Faith," i., p. 339; Margry, "Documents," i., p. 15; the next was that of the Ven. Mr. Olier, in 1656. Faillon, "Vie de M. Olier," Paris, 1853, ii., p. 504.

Christians, and heard the confession of his old Tiontate host. Confessing, baptizing, the missionary envoy came at last in sight of the Onondaga castle, to be greeted with an unusual welcome. In the solemn council he opened with a prayer in Huron, easily followed by the Iroquois, in which he anathematized the evil spirits who should venture to disturb the peace, then he prayed the angel guardians of the land to speak to the hearts of the Five Nations, to the clans, the families, the individuals he named; then he delivered the nineteen presents symbolizing as many words or propositions. In reply the Onondaga sachems urged him to select a spot on the banks of the lake for a French settlement, and confirmed the peace. Everything encouraged the envoy priest. The Onondagas seemed full of good-will; their Christian captives full of fervor. Father le Moyne returned with two precious relics, a New Testament that had belonged to Father Brébeuf, and a prayer-book of Father Charles Garnier, both put to death by the Iroquois. His favorable report filled the French colony with exultation.[1]

To plant Christianity and civilization at Onondaga, was the next step. Fathers Joseph Chaumonot and Claude Dablon were selected, and leaving Quebec in September, were received in pomp by the sachems, about a mile from the Onondaga castles, on the 5th of November. A banquet was spread for the priests, who were welcomed by an orator in an eloquent address, to which Father Chaumonot replied in their own language and style. Then they were conducted, between a welcoming line on either side, to the great cabin prepared for them. As it was Friday, they had to decline the juicy bear-meat cooked for their repast, but it was at once replaced by beaver and fish. That very night a council was held, and

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1654, ch. vi., (Quebec edition, p. 11.)

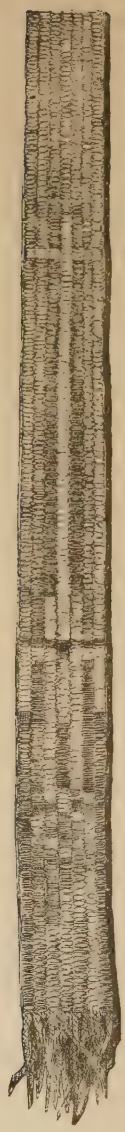
the essential presents were exchanged. The erection of a chapel for Catholic worship was to be one of the first steps. The sachems told Chaumonot that as they had ascertained that the most gratifying intelligence they could send that fall to Onontio, that is, the Governor of Canada, would be that Onondaga had a chapel for the believers, they would, to please him, provide for it as soon as possible. The missionary replied that they had discovered the secret of winning the governor's heart, and gaining him over completely.

For some days there were interviews, discussions, and interchange of presents, the missionaries availing themselves of the opportunity to visit the sick. They visited the Salt Spring near Lake Ganentaa, which had been selected as the site of the proposed French settlement. On the same hill was another spring of pure water. The site was a delightful one, easy of access from all directions.

On Sunday, November 14th, they consecrated their work by offering the holy sacrifice of the mass at a temporary altar in the cabin of Teotonharason, an influential woman who had visited Quebec and now openly declared herself in favor of Christianity.

The next day the Sachems convened the nation in a public place that all might see and hear. Then Father Chaumonot prepared to deliver the wampum belts of which he was the bearer.

Father Chaumonot, who had adapted his natural eloquence to the Indian mind, gave belt after belt, each with a symbolical meaning which he explained. "The applause was general and every mind was on the alert to see and hear what came next. This was the finest wampum belt of all which Father Chaumonot displayed. He declared all that he had thus far said was but to assuage and soothe their evils; that he could not prevent their falling sick and dying; yet he had a

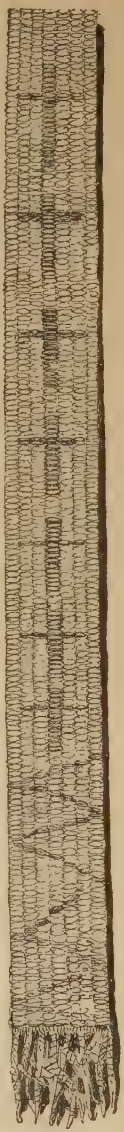


F. CHAUMONOT'S BELT.

sovereign remedy for all kinds of evils; and that it was this properly which brought him to their country; and that they had displayed their intelligence in coming to Quebec to seek him; that this great remedy was the Faith, which he came to announce to them, which they would undoubtedly receive as favorably as they had done wisely in soliciting it." Then walking up and down he eloquently portrayed the truth and beauty of Christianity, and called upon them to accept it. His address, the first eloquent presentation of the Christian faith to the Five Nations at their great council fire, was heard with deep attention, interrupted only by the applauding cries of the sachems and chiefs.[1]

How deeply the words of the missionary impressed the sachems, may be seen by the fact that the very wampum belt held up that day by Father Chaumonot, is still preserved among the treasures of the Iroquois League, at Onondaga,

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1656 (Quebec edition, p. 16).



MISSIONARY BELT.

showing in its work of wampum beads, man, the onkwe onwe led to the Cross of Christ.[1]

The Mohawks meanwhile had made proposals of peace, and Father le Moyne had been promised to them. Wearied by his past labors, a stout missionary might have pleaded for rest, but he shrank from no work of duty. He accepted the new charge with alacrity. Leaving Montreal on the 17th of August, 1656, with twelve Mohawks and two Frenchmen, they journeyed on foot a month before the missionary entered the Mohawks' castles, where he was cordially welcomed. He delivered the presents of the French governor, and in Mohawk invoked God to punish any one who violated the solemn pledges of the treaty. His presents were repaid by those of the canton, and peace was thus firmly established. Then, as missionary, he conferred baptism on the children of some captive Christians; he visited the Dutch settlements, where he was courteously received, though the minister listened with doubt to the accounts of salt springs and other peculiarities of the country the missionary had visited.[2]

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[1] This belt is perfect, although evidently ancient. It is seven beads wide and three hundred and fifty long. The figures are white on a dark ground. We give an accurate drawing of it from a photograph kindly furnished by Gen. John S. Clark, of Auburn, who is convinced that it is that used by Chaumonot. In Dr. Hawley's "Early Chapters of Cayuga History," p. 19, he says: "The legend of this belt as explained at this day, is as follows: A great many years ago, a company from Canada presented this belt, desiring that missionaries from the Roman Catholic Church might be settled among the Five Nations, and erect a chapel at Onondaga, and that the road (represented by the white stripe) should be continually kept open and free between them." We show also another belt evidently of missionary origin, preserved by the Onondagas, ancient, but inferior in workmanship. See Powell, "Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," Washington, 1883, p. 252.

[2] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1656, ch. i. (Quebec edition, pp. 2–4); O'Callaghan, "History of New Netherland," ii., p. 303; Marie de l'Incarnation, "Lettres Historiques," Lettre, October 12, 1655.

Meanwhile the missionaries went about freely among the people, meeting many old Huron converts, now slaves or adopted into the Onondaga nation. There was abundant work for their zeal in reviving or encouraging the faith in these poor exiles. When the Catholic world was celebrating the dedication of the grandest temple to the Most High, St. Peter's church at Rome, a bark chapel was reared at Onondaga. "It is true," writes Father Dablon, "that for all marble and all precious metals we employed only bark. As soon as it was erected it was sanctified by the baptism of three children, to whom the way to heaven was opened as wide beneath those vaults of bark, as to those held over font beneath vaults fretted with gold and silver." St. John the Baptist had been adopted as the patron of the mission, and it was doubtless under his invocation that this first chapel on the soil of New York was dedicated.

But the chapel was soon too small for those who gathered to listen to the doctrines of Christianity proclaimed in their own tongue by the eloquent Chaumonot.[1]

But the sachems of Onondaga wished a French settlement, and expressed dissatisfaction because no colonists arrived. To obtain them and so dispel all doubts, Father Dablon returned to Canada.

There a serious consultation was held. It was generally believed that the Onondagas were endeavoring to draw the French into their country only to massacre them: but unless some went, the cantons would declare war. Accordingly fifty Frenchmen under Mr. Dupuis, commandant of the fort at Quebec, left that city with all necessaries for a settlement, accompanied by Father Dablon, the Superior of the mission,

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[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1656, ch. vii. xiii., (Quebec ed., pp. 20, 35).

F. Francis le Mercier, two other priests of the Society, René Ménard and James Fremin, with two lay brothers.[1]

They set out amid the anxious fears of their countrymen, their white banner with the name of Jesus betokening the object of their emigration. After a tedious journey, during which they suffered from hunger, the colonists on the 11th of July reached the spot on Lake Onondaga which Fathers Chaumonot and Dablon had selected, and where the sachems of the tribe awaited them. The French canoes moved over the waters of the lake amid a salvo from their five cannon. A grand reception and banquet followed. The next day a solemn Te Deum was chanted for their safe arrival, and possession was taken of the country in the name of Jesus Christ, dedicating it to Him by the holy sacrifice of the mass. On Sunday all received holy communion, to fulfil a vow made amid the dangers of their route. After the usual round of receptions and banquets to conform to the Indian custom, the French set to work in earnest to erect the blockhouse of Saint Mary of Ganentaa, as the headquarters of the settlers and of the missionaries. It stood on a hill from which flowed a stream of salt water, and one limpid, fresh, and pure. Before the close of August the house was well advanced, and the missionaries had reared in the Indian village of Onondaga a regular chapel, apparently a larger and more solid structure than that raised the year before.[2]

Fields were prepared and planted by the French with wheat, Indian corn, and vegetables, and places arranged for the swine and poultry which they had brought.[3]

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[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1657, ch. 4, (Quebec ed., pp. 7–9). Marie de l'Incarnation, "Lettres Historiques," p. 531, Lettre Oct. 4, 1658.

[2] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1657, ch. 5 (Quebec ed., p. 18).

[3] Radisson, "Voyages," p. 118. St. Mary's of Ganentaa was just north

THE JESUIT WELL, GANENTAA. FROM A DRAWING BY A. L. RAWSON.

As soon as the commencement of the mission had been laid at Onondaga, the missionaries prepared to extend their sphere of action. Father Chaumonot towards the close of August, 1656, set out for Cayuga, and leaving Father René Ménard there, pushed on to the Seneca country. The missionary of the Cayugas was not warmly received at Goiogoüen, Huron apostates having created prejudice against the messengers of the faith, but four days after his arrival a bark chapel was erected, draped with finely wrought mats and pictures of our Lord and His Blessed Mother.[1] Then his work began; instructions were given daily, the sick and dying visited, calumnies refuted, difficulties explained. Some listened; one a warrior, who had given wampum belts to rescue Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant, but which the war chiefs subsequently returned.

Father Chaumonot at Gandagan, a Seneca town, disposed the sachems to favor the cause of Christianity and to maintain the peace; another town, Saint Michael's, made up almost entirely of Hurons, welcomed the priest, many of the exiles having adhered to the faith though long deprived of a pastor.[2]

The two missionaries also visited Oneida, although warned

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of the railroad bridge on lot 106, on the north side of Lake Onondaga, about midway between the two extremities. "The Jesuit's Well," of which an illustration is given from a drawing by A. L. Rawson, with its accompanying salt spring, marks the spot. The Onondaga village where the chapel was erected, was twelve miles distant, two miles south of the present village of Manlius. Gen. John S. Clark in Hawley's "Early Chapters," p. 33.

[1] Gen. John S. Clark, who has so carefully studied the sites of Indian towns, places Goiogoüen three and a half miles south of Union Springs, near Great Gully Brook. Rev. Dr. Hawley's "Early Chapters of Cayuga History," p. 21.

[2] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1657, ch. 15–16 (Quebec ed., pp. 42–6).

that a plot was forming against their lives; but they went on and boldly announced the gospel.

Onondaga was, however, the central mission and that which afforded most consoling hope. Here they found more persons ready to listen to their teaching, more who in sickness placed all their hope in Our Lord when He was made known to them. The old Christians and converts were so numerous that three Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin were established, one Onondaga, one Huron, and one of the Neuter Nation. They all assembled in the chapel on Palm Sunday, 1657, before daybreak, and prepared for mass by reciting the rosary.[1] Yet the lives of the missionaries hung by a thread. While Father Ragueneau was on his way from Canada to Onondaga with a party from that canton accompanied by some Hurons, who had agreed to settle there, an Onondaga chief tomahawked a Huron woman, and his companions massacred the men of the tribe, treating the women and children as slaves, stripping them of all their goods.[2] The missionary and a lay brother reached Onondaga alive, but felt that they were prisoners. If this nation had ever really been sincere in their advances to the French, the jealousy of the Mohawks and Oneidas, who wished all trade to pass through their country, soon by specious reasoning incited the Onondagas to join them in renewing hostilities against the French. While Father le Moyne was on the Mohawk, and the missionaries and French at Onondaga, the Oneidas slew and scalped three colonists near Montreal. Governor d'Ailleboust acted with a decision that saved the lives of the missionaries. He seized all the Iroquois to be found in the colony and put them in irons. They saw that they were to deal with a man

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," ch. 19, p. 47.

[2] Ib., ch. 22, pp. 54–6. Radisson, "Voyages," p. 119.

FRANÇOIS DE LAVAL

FIRST BISHOP OF QUEBEC

with whom they could not trifle. One was allowed to return and assure the Mohawks and Oneidas that the lives of their tribesmen depended on the safe return of Father le Moyne.

The position of the party at Onondaga was more serious, but the arrival of some Indians from that tribe gave the governor the hostages he desired; but he could not send an expedition to save the French. The winter wore away, the missionaries faithfully discharging their duties, the French settlers looking forward to the opening of navigation for an effort to escape. Flat-boats and canoes were secretly constructed, and at last one of the French gave a grand banquet which gathered all the men of the Onondaga tribe. It was one that required the guests to eat everything set before them, and the French lavished their provisions to glut the guests, while music was kept up to drown all noise. At last far in the night the Onondagas returned to their village, and soon sleep held the whole tribe. Then the French embarked in haste, breaking a way through the ice, down the Oswego to the lake, and coasting along they finally reached Quebec.[1]

So ended the first French settlement and the first Catholic mission in New York, which had lasted from November 5, 1655, to March 20, 1658, and which had erected chapels in the Onondaga towns, and among the Cayugas.

No sooner had peace with the Iroquois allowed the Catholic Church to extend its influence into the territory of the fierce Indians who had slaughtered priest and neophyte and catechumen, than it sought also to penetrate to the utmost limit then known to the French, the country of the Ottawas on Lake Superior, of the very existence of which few Euro-

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1658. Letter of F. Ragueneau, pp. 2–6; Radisson, "Voyages," pp. 123–134.

peans, few even of the English settlers on the Atlantic coast, had the remotest idea.

At the first gleam of peace with the Iroquois, flotillas of canoes from Lake Superior made their way by the devious route of Lake Huron and the Ottawa to Montreal and Quebec. The Jesuit missionaries heard from these Indians of other tribes, the Winnebagoes, Illinois, Sioux, Crees. They resolved to plant the cross among them. The Ottawas asked for missionaries, and when their flotilla was ready, Father Leonard Garreau and Father Gabriel Druillettes were appointed to accompany them on their long and difficult voyage, with Brother Louis le Boesme, destined to become the earliest metal-worker in the West. As the flotilla was passing the upper end of the island of Montreal it was attacked by a Mohawk war-party. At the first volley Father Garreau fell, his spine traversed by a ball. In this state he fell into the hands of the Mohawks, who dragged him into a little stockade they had made, there to be stripped and left for three days weltering in his blood. The Ottawas abandoned the other missionary and hastened onward. The intended apostle of the West was at last carried to Montreal, to expire the same day, praying for his murderers, fortified with the sacraments, and edifying all by his patient heroism.[1]

The Church acting through the heroic regular clergy of France, had made its almost superhuman efforts to gain a foothold in Maine, in New York, in Michigan, but in the summer of 1658 the first signs of hope seemed blasted; no permanent advantage had been gained; nowhere south of the St Lawrence and the great lakes was the holy sacrifice offered, not a single French priest resided at any point.

But the Church in Canada was at this time to receive new

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1656, ch. xv.–xvi., pp. 38–43 (Quebec edition).

life and vigor by the formation of the colony into a Vicariate-Apostolic confided to a bishop of eminent personal qualities and of illustrious name. The Holy See requested by the King of France to erect a bishopric in Canada, deemed best after some consideration to establish a Vicariate-Apostolic. Francis de Laval de Montigny, recommended by the king for the Canadian bishopric, was preconised bishop *in partibus infidelium* in May, 1658, and on the 3d of June a bull was issued creating him bishop of Petræa in the ecclesiastical province of Heliopolis. There was at once an opposition in France. The Archbishop of Rouen protested; the parlement at that city went so far as to defy the authority of the Holy See, and forbid Mgr. Laval to exercise the functions of Vicar-Apostolic in New France; the bishop who was to consecrate him declined to proceed. This conduct excited astonishment at Rome, and after examining the question, the Pope decided against the pretensions of the Archbishop of Rouen. A bull was issued declaring Bishop Laval Vicar-Apostolic, but indirectly confirming all acts done in Canada under the authority of the Archbishop of Rouen. Mgr. Laval was then consecrated by the Pope's nuncio at Paris on the 8th of December, 1658, in the chapel of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Germain des Près, which was then not within the diocese of any bishop. But the letters patent of the king showed a desire to incorporate the future diocese in Canada with the French hierarchy, and make Bishop Laval merely a vicar-general of the Archbishop of Rouen, while the Holy See desired to make him free from all control, and dependent directly on Rome.

Gathering a few priests to aid in the work before him in Canada, Bishop Laval disregarding the orders of the French parlement, sailed from Rochelle, and reached Quebec on the 16th of June, 1659. Although his coming had not

been announced, he was received with all possible pomp,[1] "as a comforting angel sent from heaven."

The Jesuit Fathers, who were still acting as parochial clergy in all the settlements except Montreal, at once resigned that portion of their work into the hands of the bishop, devoting themselves henceforward to their college, sodalities, and chapels in the colony, and to the Indian missions.[2] Bishop Laval's authority was universally recognized by the clergy except one priest, who receiving a new appointment as Vicar-General from the Archbishop of Rouen, attempted to question the jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic. At a later date Bishop Laval, in his endeavors to prevent the sale of liquor to the Indians, drew on himself the hostility of the governors; but he always had the hearty support of the great mass of the people settled in the country and of his clergy.

"Monseigneur de Laval," says the judicious Ferland, "exercised a great influence over the destiny of Canada, both directly by himself, and indirectly by the institutions which he founded, as well as by the spirit he was able to infuse into the clergy of his immense diocese. All who have spoken of him agree in acknowledging that he possessed an elevated piety and the finest qualities of mind and heart. Based on profound conviction, and often required to crush evil at its outset, to prompt and develop some noble project, his firmness yielded neither to the suggestions of friendship nor the threats of hatred. Some reproach him with a firmness carried to stubbornness. On this earth no virtue is perfect; he may have been mistaken at times; but it is better for the

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[1] Faillon, "Histoire de la Colonie Canadienne," ii, pp. 313–339; "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1659, p. 1; Langevin, "Notice Biographique," Montreal, 1874, p. 9.

[2] At a later period Frontenac complained of the Jesuits because they would not do parochial duty among the French.

founder of society to err through excessive firmness than from weakness. A vigorous hand was needed to guide in the straight way the little nation just born on the banks of the Saint Lawrence. If at the outset it had befallen him to take a wrong direction, he would have swerved more and more from the path of honor and duty as he advanced in his career; he could have been recalled to the true path only by one of those severe chastisements which Providence employs to purify nations."[1] He entered at once on the exercise of his episcopal functions, Confirmation and Holy Orders were soon conferred for the first time in Canada, and the settlers and their dusky allies bowed in reverence before the representative of the Episcopate, with whose blessing to animate them they went forth fearlessly to face all dangers.

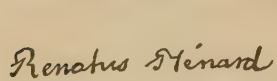
When a Catholic bishop thus reached Canada, he found the colony on the brink of ruin, ravaged by armies of Iroquois against whom the most heroic bravery of the French settlers seemed ineffectual; but while he joined with the civil authorities in appealing to the home government for troops to protect the colony, he courageously undertook to visit his vicariate from Gaspé to La Prairie. With the Superior of the Jesuit Fathers he projected new missions in the distant West.

In the summer of 1660 a great flotilla reached Montreal from the upper lakes, composed of Ottawas guided by two Frenchmen, Groseillier and Radisson,[2] and bearing several years' accumulation of furs. Undismayed by the fate of Father Garreau, the missionaries were ready to accompany the Ottawas on their return. Bishop Laval, who saw the

[1] "Cours d'Histoire du Canada," i., p. 449.

[2] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1660, ch. 6, Quebec ed., p. 29; "Journal des Jesuites," p. 287; See Radisson, "Voyages," pp. 134–172, for his explorations and voyage down.

flotilla at Montreal, would gladly have gone in person. Father René Ménard, to whom the Cayugas had just sent belts to urge him to revisit them, was selected for the Ottawas with Father Charles Albanel, John Guérin, a devoted servant of the mission, and six other Frenchmen; but the canoe assigned to Father Albanel would not receive him, and he was compelled to return.[1] Father Ménard, fully conscious of the hardships before him, writing a parting letter to a fellow religious, said: "In three or four months you may put me in the Memento of the Dead, considering the life these people lead, my age and feeble health. Yet I felt so powerfully impelled, and I saw in this affair so little of nature's prompting that I could not doubt that I should feel an eternal remorse if I allowed the opportunity to pass."[2] Between Three Rivers and Montreal, Father Ménard, who had set out in such haste that he could not obtain a proper supply of clothing and other necessaries, met Bishop Laval, whose encouraging words filled him with consolation. "Father," he said, "every consideration seems to bid you remain here, but God, who is stronger than all, wishes you in those parts." The missionary was an old traveller, and had made many a journey with Huron and Iroquois; but the treatment he then experienced was nothing compared to what he had to suffer from the brutal Ottawas. They snatched his breviary from his hand and flung it into the rapid stream. On another occasion they set him ashore, leaving him to clamber over



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF RENÉ MÉNARD.

[1] The "Relation" states that Groscillier and Radisson baptized many Indian children in danger of death. "Relation," 1660, p. 12, and Radisson's account, p. 160, seem to confirm it.

[2] Letter of Aug. 27, 1660. "Rel.," 1660, p. 30.

frightful rocks to overtake them. Half his day was spent wading, his nights stretched on a rock without shelter or covering, hunger at last was relieved only by "tripe de roche," or bits of deer-skin. After they entered Lake Superior, their canoe was crushed by a falling tree, and the missionary and three Indians were left to starve. At last some less brutal Ottawas took them up, and on Saint Teresa's day, October 15th, Father Ménard reached a large bay on the south shore of Lake Superior; and "here," he says, "I had the consolation of saying mass, which repaid me with usury for all my past hardships. Here also I opened a mission." The spot of this first mass and first mission on Lake Superior was at Old Village Point, or Bikwakwenan on Keweenaw Bay, about seven miles north of the present village of L'Anse.[1]

The nearest altar of the living God to that reared by this aged and intrepid priest was that of the Sulpitians at Montreal, yet the altars at Santa Fé and St. Inigoes were but little more remote.

The aged priest stood alone in the heart of the continent, with no fellow-priest and scarcely a fellow-man of European race within a thousand miles of him.

He began his instructions, but few besides the aged and infirm seemed inclined to listen. A good, industrious widow, laboring to maintain her five children; a noble young brave, whose natural purity revolted against the debaucheries of his nation, were the first fruits of those in the prime of life. Testing his neophytes long and strictly, Father Ménard admitted few to baptism. "I would not," he wrote, "admit a greater number, being contented with those whom I deemed certain to persevere firmly in the faith during my absence;

[1] This is the result of V. Rev. Edward Jacker's careful study of the life of Father Ménard. The tribe, though classed under the general name Ottawas by the French, were Chippewas.

for I do not know yet what will become of me, or whither I shall betake myself." His care was attested by the fact that Fathers Marquette, Allouez, and Nouvel subsequently found converts of Father Ménard adhering to the Christian faith and life.

Keinouche, the chief to whose care the missionary had been especially confided, proved to be a brutal, sensual man, who finally drove Father Ménard from his cabin, so that he was compelled to rear a rude shelter for himself, and to seek food as he might from the Indians or the rocks. Yet there was no thought of abandoning his mission. "I should do myself great violence were I to wish to descend from the cross which God has prepared for me in my old days, in this remote part of the world. There is not any desire in my heart to revisit Three Rivers. I do not know what sort of nails these are that fasten me to the adorable wood, but the mere thought of any one approaching to take me down from it makes me shudder." . . . . "I can sincerely say that, in spite of hunger, cold, and other discomforts,—almost unbecoming detail,—I feel more content here in one day than I experienced all my lifetime in whatever part of the world I sojourned."

Amid all the hardships of a winter in a hovel of branches on Lake Superior, Father Ménard was acquiring all possible information of the country and the tribes inhabiting it. He heard of distant nations and proposed setting out to announce the gospel to them. "It is my hope to die on the way." But a call came from a tribe to whom the Jesuits had already preached. A band of Tionontate-Hurons, flying from the Iroquois, had reached the land of the Dakotas, but acted so insolently as to provoke that warlike race. The Tionontates, thoroughly worsted, retreated up a branch of the Mississippi, called the Black River, to its headwaters, where

they were at this time in an almost starving condition. Hearing that a Jesuit Father was on the shore of Lake Superior, they sent imploring him to visit them, the pagan portion promising to listen to his instructions. Father Ménard sent three Frenchmen to ascertain the real state of affairs. They found the road so difficult and dangerous, the condition of the Hurons so wretched, that on returning they begged the missionary not to attempt to go, but his answer was a decided one: "God calls me thither; I must go, should it cost me my life." "This is the finest opportunity of showing to angels and men that I love my Creator more than the life I hold from him, and you wish me to let it slip?"

Some Hurons came to trade, and with these as guides, and taking a little stock of smoked fish and meat, he set out with one Frenchman July 13, 1661. He said to his converts and countrymen: "Farewell, my dear children; I bid you the long farewell for this world; for you shall never see me again. But I pray that the divine mercy may unite us all in heaven."[1]

The party reached, as Rev. Edward Jacker thinks, Lake Vieux Desert, the source of the Wisconsin. Here the Huron guides left him, promising to push on to the village and bring relief. After waiting two weeks, Father Ménard and his companion, finding an old canoe, attempted to descend the river, broken by a succession of rapids. It was a terrible undertaking for an aged man whose frame was shattered by years of exposure and toil. At one dangerous rapid Father Ménard, to lighten the canoe, landed, and with some of the packages made his way over the rocks. When the Frenchman had guided his canoe safely down the dangerous pass, he looked for the venerable priest. In vain he called him;

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1663, Quebec ed., pp. 20–1.

he fired his gun that the sound might guide the missionary if he had lost his way. A diligent search proved ineffectual. Then he set out in haste for the Hurons, meeting one of the Sac tribe able to guide him. There he endeavored to induce the Hurons to send out a party to search for him, but a scout who went out discovered a hostile trail. The fate of Father René Ménard is uncertain. That he died by the hand of prowling Indians seems most probable; his altar furniture, his cassock, and breviary were subsequently, at different times, found in the hands of Dakotas and other western tribes. "Pater Frugifer" he was called by his fellow-laborers, who had seen the result of his mission work in Upper Canada and New York.

Father Ménard perished about August 10th, and V. Rev. Mr. Jacker, after a very careful local study, decides that he was lost near the rapid on the Wisconsin, known as Grandfather Bull, or Beaulieu rapids.[1]

[1] It is so set down on an ancient unpublished map in Mr. S. L. M. Barlow's collection, as may be seen in Winsor, "Narrative and Critical History," iv., p. 206. For the last missions of this great priest, see "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1663, Quebec ed., 17–25; 1664, pp. 2–6; 1665, p. 9. Perrot, "Mœurs et Coutumes des Sauvages," edited by F. Tailhan, p. 92.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE OTTAWA MISSION, 1662–1675.

The tidings of Ménard's death were slow in reaching his brethren on the St. Lawrence; but when they came, no idea of abandoning the mission was entertained. Danger from hostile Iroquois, the hardships of the long journey, the brutality of the Indians whose conversion they were to seek, did not appall them. Father Claude Allouez was selected to continue the work of Ménard. He reached Montreal in 1664 only to find that the Ottawa flotilla had departed. The next year he embarked in one of their canoes, and on the 1st of September, 1665, reached Sault St. Mary's, and after a brief stay at St. Teresa's Bay landed, on the 1st of October, at Chegoimegon. Here he erected his bark chapel, dedicating it to the Holy Ghost, the spot taking the name of "La Pointe du Saint Esprit." The Church to this day exerts her influence there, and the present church, identified with the venerable Bishop Baraga, claims to be the oldest one in the State of Wisconsin.

The population at Chegoimegon was a motley gathering of Indians belonging to eight different tribes. Father Allouez found them all preparing to take the field against the Sioux, and his first triumph was to cause them to abandon the project. His chapel, adorned with striking pictures, such as hell and the last judgment, attracted Indians from all parts; some asked to be instructed, others came to mock and jeer; some

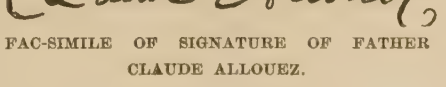
brought children to be baptized; a few Hurons sought to revive the faith, now almost extinct, in their hearts. The Lord's Prayer and the Angelical Salutation in the Chippewa language were chanted after every instruction, and were soon generally known. The medicine-men were the great enemies of the missionary, and early in 1666 they incited profligate, ill-disposed men at a larger Indian town, where the missionary had erected a second chapel, to break in the walls and to try and rob him of everything. He was forced to return to Chegoimegon, where the Hurons gave him more consolation. They had been deprived of a missionary since the death of Father Garnier, and Allouez baptized some whose instruction had been begun by that holy missionary. The Pottawatomies, of whom a large band visited La Pointe, showed better dispositions for the faith than the Ottawas; but the priest could not say the same of the haughty and cruel Sacs and Foxes. The Illinois coming from their great river, which he believed to empty somewhere near Virginia, danced the calumet and listened to his instructions, carrying to their distant home the first tidings of the gospel.

Bishop Laval, in the act by which he created Father Allouez his Vicar-General in the West, bears testimony to the work of the missionaries of the Society of Jesus. "We cannot sufficiently praise God on beholding the zeal and charity with which all the Fathers of your Society continue to employ their lives in this new church to advance the glory of God and the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and to secure the salvation of the souls whom He has confided to our care, but especially at the happy success which He gives to the labors which you have undergone for several years past, with equal fortitude and courage, to establish the faith in all the countries that lie on the North and West. We cannot but testify to you and all your companions the most signal joy and conso-

lation that we derive from them, and in order to contribute with all our power by marks of our regard in the progress and advancement of these glorious designs, and confiding in your piety, purity of life, and ability, it is our will to appoint you our Vicar-General in all the said countries, as we do by these presents," etc.[1]

By this appointment Father Claude Allouez, or the Superior of the Mission in the West for the time being, was created Vicar-General, and all missionaries to whom the Bishop had given, or might subsequently give, faculties for that district were made subject to him. This act, dated July 21, 1663, is therefore the first ecclesiastical organization of the Church in the West. The Bishop of Quebec soon after announced that the holidays of obligation in his diocese, and of course in the district assigned to the Vicar-General, were those which were established by Pope Urban VIII. in 1642, to which he added the feasts of Saint Francis Xavier, and of the Invention of the Holy Cross.[2]

Father Allouez went to the western extremity of Lake Superior, where he met a band of Sioux, and endeavored through an interpreter to tell them of the faith. He learned that beyond their country lay the Karezi, after which the land was cut off. He met too Kilistinons, whose language resembled that of the Montagnais, of the lower Saint Lawrence. In 1667, he penetrated to Lake Alimibegong, where he revived the faith in the hearts of the Nipissings, who



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF FATHER CLAUDE ALLOUEZ.

[1] "Archives of Archbishopric of Quebec," A., p. 166.

[2] "Ordonnance au sujet du retranchement et institution de quelques festes," 3 Dec., 1667; "Archives of Quebec," A., p. 58.

had formerly been under the care of the Fathers of the Huron mission. He celebrated Pentecost among them in a chapel made of branches, but with a devout and attentive flock, whose piety was the great consolation of his laborious ministry.

The Catholic Church had begun her work on Lake Superior with energy; and Father Allouez, who, by this time, had acquired a thorough knowledge of the whole field open to missionary labor, descended with the trading flotilla in the summer of 1667, to lay his plans before his superiors. Two days only did he spend in Quebec, returning to the Ottawas, with Father Louis Nicolas, to pass through the hardships of the long and dangerous route.[1] He bore with him a pastoral of the Venerable Bishop Laval, whose authority he had invoked to aid him in checking the unchristian lives of some of the early French pioneers.

The labors of the missionaries in the West found other obstacles than the pagan ideas and practices of the Indian tribes. The bad example of some fur traders, who, throwing off the restraints of civilization, plunged into every vice, produced a most unfavorable impression on the Indians, who contrasted it with the high morality preached by the missionaries. To remove the scandal as far as possible, Father Allouez appealed to Bishop Laval. The following is probably the first official ecclesiastical act, applying directly and exclusively to the Church in the West:

> "Francis, by the Grace of God and of the Holy See, Bishop of Petræa, Vicar-Apostolic in New France, and nominated by the King first Bishop of said country: To our well-beloved Father Claude Allouez, Superior of

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1667, ch. ii.–xvi. Quebec edition, pp. 4–26. Lettre du père Marquette, Aug. 4, 1667.

the Mission of the Society of Jesus among the Ottawas, Health.

"On the report which we have received of the disorder prevailing in your missions in regard to the French who go thither to trade, and who do not hesitate to take part in all the profane feasts held there by the pagans, sometimes with great scandal to their souls, and to the edification which they ought to give to the Christian converts, we enjoin you to take in hand that they shall never be present when these feasts are manifestly idolatrous, and in case they do the contrary of what you decide ought to be done or not done on this point, to threaten them with censures if they do not return to their duty, and in case of contumacy, to proceed according to your prudence and discretion, as also towards those who are given in an extraordinary degree to scandalous impurity, to act in the same manner. Given at Quebec this 6th of August, one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven.

"FRANCIS, *Bishop of Petræa.*"[1]

The next year these two priests were reinforced by the arrival of Father James Marquette and Brother Louis le Boesme.

FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER MARQUETTE.

The mission stations were Sault Sainte Marie, and La Pointe du Saint Esprit, at Chagoimegon, each provided with a chapel. At the last mission, about this time, bands of a very great number of tribes had gathered, flying from the war parties of the Iroquois, which had carried desolation around the shores of Lake Michigan, as of old, amid the nations seated on Lake Huron. This gave Father Allouez

[1] "Archives of Quebec," A., pp. 53–4.

an opportunity to announce the faith to many tribes, to obtain a knowledge of their language, and the routes leading to their country. The Iroquois were the great obstacle, and peace with them was essential. The Ottawas (Queues Coupées) at La Pointe, among whom he had labored two or three years, showed little sign of conversion. They had been obdurate in the Huron country, and when Father Ménard instructed them. Father Allouez at last announced his determination to leave them and go to the Sault, where the people showed docility. Finding him in earnest, the chiefs called a council, in the autumn of 1665. There they decided to put an end to polygamy, to abolish all offering to Manitous, and not to take part in the heathen rites of the tribes that had gathered around them. The change was sudden but sincere. They came during the winter regularly to the chapel with their wives and children to receive instruction, and to pray in common in the morning and at night. The whole tribe became Christians, and by its numbers and love of peace, gave great hopes.

Father Marquette, at the Sault, found many correspond to his teaching, but was prudently waiting to test the strength of their good resolutions, before admitting them to baptism.[1]

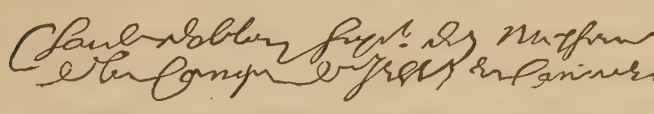
Hoping to obtain more missionaries, and means to establish stations at Green Bay and other points, Father Allouez, in 1669, went down to Quebec, taking several Iroquois whom he had rescued, and through whom he hoped to effect a peace between the Five Nations and the Western tribes. This happy result followed. The Ottawa mission was organized, and Father Dablon went up as Superior.[2]

Father James Marquette then went to Chagoimegon in September, 1669, to take charge of the motley gathering

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1668, p. 21.

[2] Ibid., 1669, pp. 19–20.

there, the newly converted Kiskakons; the Tionontate Hurons who had finally settled there, most of whom had been baptized, but in their wandering life, had lost nearly all traces of Christianity; the Ottawa Sinagos and Keinouches, who, with few exceptions, derided the Christian teachers. He found the Kiskakons docile and attentive to all the instructions and exercises in the chapel, and could see in the modest behavior of the young women, that they were making real progress in virtue, and avoiding the old vices. He was, however, already selected by Father Dablon to found a



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER CLAUDE DABLON.

mission among the Illinois, and in 1670, wrote, that during the winter, he had acquired some elementary knowledge of their language from a young man of the Illinois nation, who had come to Chagoimegon. He found it to differ widely from other Algonquin dialects, but he adds, "I hope nevertheless, by the help of God's grace, to understand and be understood, if God in his goodness leads me to that land." "If it pleases God to send some Father, he will take my place, while I, to fulfil Father Superior's orders, will proceed to found the mission of the Illinois."[1] Father Allouez had paved the way for this mission, by announcing the Gospel to some who came to La Pointe.[2]

In November, that pioneer of the Faith on the Upper Lakes, set out in the canoes of the Pottawatomies, accom-

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1670, pp. 89–90.

[2] A book is still preserved in Canada, containing prayers in Illinois and French, which contains an ancient note stating that it was prepared by Father Allouez for the use of Father Marquette.

panied by two other Frenchmen, and, amid storms and snow, toiled on till they reached Lake Michigan, and skirted its shores till they entered Green Bay, on the feast of Saint Francis Xavier. The next day, Father Allouez celebrated the first mass in that part, which was attended by eight Frenchmen. A motley village of six hundred Indians, Sacs and Foxes, Pottawatomies and Winnebagoes, had gathered here to winter, and similar groups were scattered at intervals around the Bay. The missionary spent the winter announcing the Gospel, first to the Sacs, instructing them and teaching them to pray, having soon adapted the Algonquin Our Father and Hail Mary to their dialect. In February, he visited the Pottawatomies, convening the chiefs, and then visiting each cabin. In both villages, all sick children were baptized, and adults in danger were instructed and prepared. The winter wore away before he had made a thorough visitation of all these villages, and to his regret, he saw them begin to scatter. Living on Indian corn and acorns, he had toiled and suffered, but could feel that something had been accomplished. In April, he ascended Fox River, passing a Sac village with its fish weir, passing Kakalin Rapids, threading Winnebago Lake, and keeping on till he reached the crowded town of the Foxes, where he was greeted as a Manitou. The chiefs came to the council he convened, and there he explained the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, the Commandments of God, the rewards and punishments of eternity. He consoled them for their recent losses at the hands of the merciless Iroquois. They responded at a later council, and urged him to remain to instruct them. Thus began the Mission of Saint Mark, so named from the day of its first work.

Then he took his canoe again, and returning to Lake Winnebago, ascended Wolf River to the Mascoutin fort.

Here he found a tribe ready to welcome a missionary. Returning from this excursion, in which he found that, by a short portage, he could easily reach the great river Messi-sipi, he visited the Menomonees, with their corrupt Algonquin, and the Winnebagoes, whose language of the Dakota stock was utterly unlike any language he had yet heard. He set to work to study it, and to translate the Lord's Prayer and the Angelical Salutation, with a brief Catechism into it.

Such was the first announcement of Christianity in the heart of Wisconsin. The teaching of the Church had begun. There were a few converts, but instructions and prayers were maintained regularly by the missionary in his chapel. Late in May he returned to Sault St. Mary's.

The new field thus opened with the missions of the Illinois and Dakotas in prospect called for more evangelical laborers. Fathers Gabriel Druillettes and Louis André went up in the autumn of 1670.[1] In May, 1671, the Cross was formally planted at Sault St. Mary's amid a vast gathering of tribes. Here the chapel was a constant attraction. Indians came and listened; children were baptized, and a class gathered for daily instruction. Amid great hopes their little chapel took fire on the 27th of January, 1671, and the missionaries were able to save little except the Blessed Sacrament.

Meanwhile Father André visited the Missisagas, Manitouline, Mackinac, and Lake Nipissing, encouraged by the docility of the Indians, but always constantly on the verge of starvation, living on pieces of deerskin, tripe de roche, or acorns. In the spring of 1671, Father Marquette, who had been at La Pointe, saw his flock of Hurons and Ottawas tremble before the wrath of the Sioux, whom they had provoked. They fled, the Ottawas to Manitouline, the Hurons

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1670, ch. xii.

to Michilimakinac, where Father Marquette took up his abode to continue the mission of Saint Ignatius.

Father Allouez continued his labors around Green Bay, greatly encouraged by his reception among bands of Miamis and of Illinois, near the Maskouten fort. Here he was received with respect by the great chief of the Illinois, whom his people regarded with the deepest reverence. The gentle and sweet disposition of this chief won the heart of the missionary, who built great hopes on the favor of one who could unite these traits with great valor in war. So deeply was the chief moved by our Lord's passion when the missionary described it, that all wondered; grace seemed to be working in his heart. He escorted the missionary to his canoe when he left, urged him to visit them in their own country, and gave every hope that, in time, this most interesting nation yet discovered by the missionaries would afford a field for consoling and fruitful labors.[1]

Father Henry Nouvel was sent up in the autumn of 1671 as Superior of all the Ottawa missions, as those on the Upper Lakes were called. He took for his share the laborious missions on Lakes Huron and Nipissing. Father Gabriel Druillettes continued his labors at Sault St. Mary's, encouraged by cures that seemed so miraculous that the Indians redoubled their faith and zeal. He rebuilt his chapel, which greatly surpassed the first one.[2] At Michilimakinac Father Marquette was assiduous in his work, endeavoring to revive in the minds and hearts of the Hurons the knowledge and love of God which had become nearly effaced in their long wanderings and struggles.

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1671, part iii., ch. 1–5.

[2] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1671, p. 31. Le Clercq, "Establishment of the Faith" (Shea's translation), ii., p. 105, implies that it was a magnificent church, with the richest vestments, but this is a mere exaggeration.

Father Allouez and Father André planted their little house and chapel at the Rapide des Pères, from which the latter attended the tribes on Green Bay, the former those on the rivers beyond their mission station.[1]

Meanwhile the Church at Sault Ste. Marie had been rebuilt, and fine vestments sent by charitable friends in more civilized parts filled the Indians with wonder, as they camped around the chapel—a safer place, in their eyes, than their own fort against any attack of hostile braves, old Iskouakite, a Chippewa chief, seamed with wounds from Dakota or Iroquois, being the catechist.

This new church stimulated a kind of jealousy. At Green Bay the Indians murmured, and to satisfy them a suitable site was selected on Fox River, which had taken the name of Saint Francis Xavier. Here, before the close of 1673, a large church was erected, to which the neighboring tribes might repair when not away on their distant hunting-grounds.

From the Sault Father Druillettes directed the Chippewas and Kiskakons, and visited the Missisagas. There was much faith to encourage the missionaries, but the medicine-men labored to prevent the progress of Christianity and to seduce those who had embraced it. As in other parts, they endeavored to persuade the people that the missionaries caused the death of the children of unbelievers. Father Henry Nouvel was three times attacked with uplifted hatchet by one of these medicine-men.

In the summer of 1672 the Ottawa Sinagos and the Tionontate Hurons began to arrive at Michilimakinac, Father André having produced some fruit among the former on Lake Superior. A Huron stockade fort rose near the church. Some

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1672, part ii., ch. 2-5.

Hurons from near Quebec, who came up to trade, aided the missionary by their exhortations and the influence of their example. But Father Marquette was preparing to resign his mission to other hands and set out on a dangerous expedition.[1]

Father Louis André, sent to Green Bay, began his labors at Saint Francis Xavier among the Sacs at Chouskouabika, endeavoring to dispel their superstitions, and, above all, their belief in Missipissi—a deity on whom they relied for success in fishing. He found polygamy a great obstacle, and would not admit to his instructions any one who did not renounce it. Visiting every cabin, he instructed the inmates amid the nets and drying fish. Just three days before Christmas, 1672, his little cabin was burned down, and he lost his desk and papers, with many valuable articles. A new house and chapel was reared for him by piling up a wall of straw to the height of a man and roofing it with mats. Such was the winter home of a Western priest two centuries ago. Among the Pottawatomies at Oussouamigoung his experience was more cheering, the chapel being constantly visited by the women to receive instructions or to offer their devotions. Attached to this mission were, too, the Winnebagoes and Menomonees.[2]

In the fields near the Maskouten village, Father Allouez had reared a chapel of reed mats, which he opened on the feast of the Assumption. Miamis came and camped around, so that he was compelled to go out and instruct them in the open air, using his chapel for mass, which he said behind a rood-screen of mats, leaving only a small space for the cate-

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1673; Manate, 1861, pp. 146–157; "Relations Inédites," Paris, 1861, pp. 69–102.

[2] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1673, pp. 157–186; "Relations Inédites," pp. 103–122, 229–233.

chumens; and for them he established two rules—that there was to be no smoking or talking in the chapel. Then a cross was planted in the Maskouten village, and its meaning explained, with the veneration in which Christians held it. Besides this charge he also labored among the Foxes at Saint Mark and the Indians at Green Bay, to which the next year came Kaskaskias and Peorias. In 1675 Father Silvy was sent to Green Bay to aid Father Allouez in his labors.[1]

FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER ANT. SILVY.

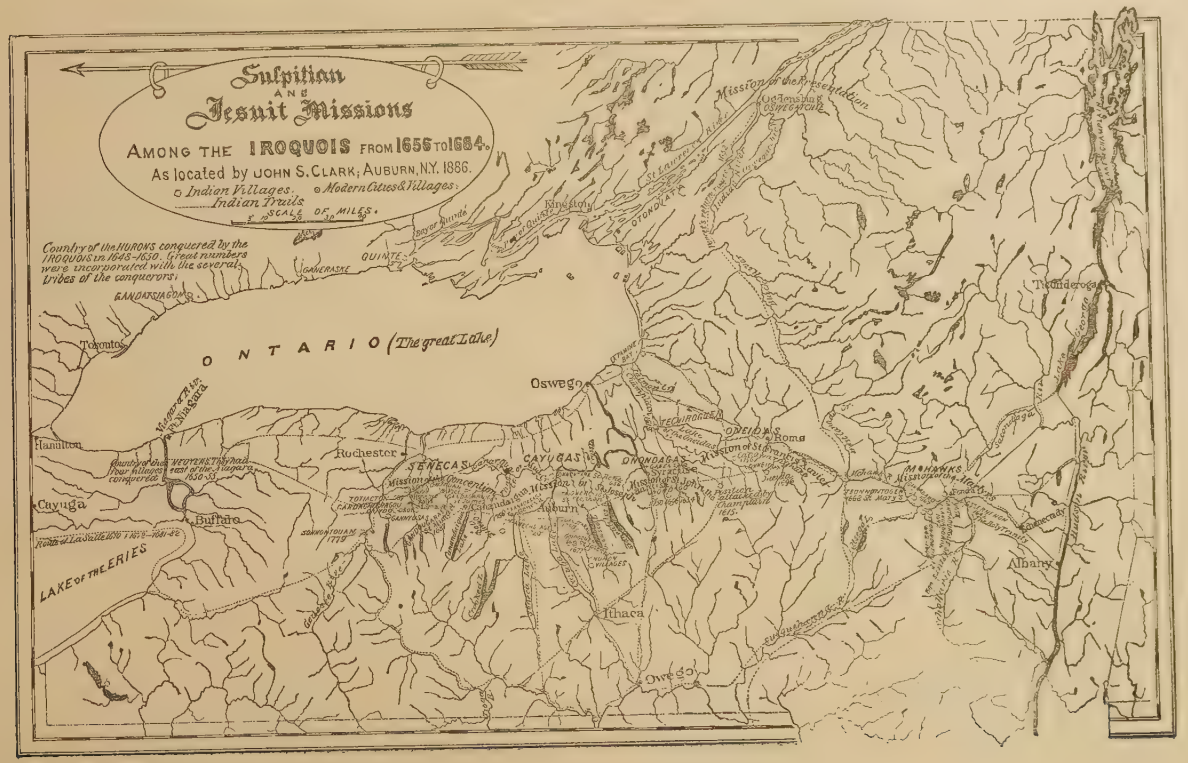
[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1673, pp. 123–147, 211–223, ii., p. 20.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE CHURCH AMONG THE IROQUOIS, 1660–1680.

The services of the Catholic Church were thus begun on the shores of Lake Superior, near the fugitive Hurons, who still yearned for a priest. There were Catholics on the Kennebec and Penobscot, by the shore of Lake Onondaga and in the castles of the Senecas. Providence was paving the way for their consolation. The Catholics at Onondaga, French prisoners in hourly dread of a fearful death at the stake, Hurons and Algonquins groaning under a hopeless captivity, found a potent protector in the eloquent and wise Garaconthié, whose hospitality the missionaries had often enjoyed, and who now, by liberal presents, saved from a fearful death the French prisoners brought into the territory of the Five Nations. An admirer of the Christian law, though he had never placed himself in the ranks of the catechumens, this remarkable man gathered the French and Indian Christians by the sound of a bell for morning and evening prayer at Onondaga, and on Sundays, by giving feasts, enabled the Catholics to spend the day in suitable devotions.

Meanwhile he labored steadily to incline the minds of his countrymen to peace with the French. His wise policy at last prevailed. In July, 1661, two Iroquois canoes, bearing a white flag, were run up on the shore at Montreal, and a band of warriors advanced, accompanied by four Frenchmen. The Cayuga Saonchiogwa delivered his presents, proposing peace in the name of the Onondagas and Cayugas, and asking


Sulpitian
AND
Jesuit Missions
AMONG THE IROQUOIS FROM 1655 TO 1684.
As located by JOHN S. CLARK, AUBURN, N.Y. 1886.
Indian Villages.
Modern Cities & Villages.
Indian Trails
SCALE OF MILES.
Country of the HURONS conquered by the IROQUOIS in 1643-1650. Great numbers were incorporated with the several tribes of the conquerors.
ONTARIO (The great Lake)
Toronto
Hamilton
Cayuga
Buffalo
LAKE OF THE ERIES
Oswego
Rochester
SENECAS
CAYUGAS
ONONDAGAS
ONEIDA
Rome
Auburn
Ithaca
Owego
Albany
Schenectady
Troy
Canajoharie
Fort Plain
Cherry Valley
Unadilla
Otsego Lake
Lake Champlain
Ticonderoga
Crown Point
Fort Edward
Saratoga
Schoharie
Mohawk River
Susquehanna River
Genesee River
Seneca River
Oneida Lake
Onondaga Lake
Cayuga Lake
Seneca Lake
Canandaigua Lake
Chemung River
Tioga River
Delaware River
Hudson River
Lake George
Lake Champlain

the French to return to Ganentaa, but raising his last belt of wampum, he said: "A black gown must come with me or there can be no peace; on his coming hang the lives of the twenty Frenchmen now at Onondaga."[1] The decision was referred to Viscount d'Argenson, the Governor of Canada. The colony had suffered terribly, the Seneschal Lauson and a Sulpitian at Montreal had been slain, every Iroquois town had witnessed the torture and death of French prisoners. Peace was worth a risk and a sacrifice. A Jesuit was ready. Father Simon le Moyne was selected for the dangerous embassy. He went up to Montreal with Father Chaumonot, and after consulting Iroquois delegates he stepped into one of their canoes on the 21st of July, uncertain as to the fate before him. Mohawk war parties threatened his life on the way, but he at last approached the Onondaga castle, to be welcomed before entering by Garaconthié and the sachems. With tact Garaconthié took the priest first to the cabins of influential men to win their favor. Then his own cabin became the chapel of Catholicity at Onondaga. A council, convoked by the sound of the old mission-bell, decided to send Garaconthié to Montreal with nine of the French prisoners, and he went, meeting on his way an Onondaga, who had butchered the Rev. Mr. Maitre, a Sulpitian.[2]

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[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1661, ch. ii., vii., pp. 7–32.

[2] Ibid., "Journal des Jesuites," p. 300. Father Peter Joseph Mary Chaumonot ceases from this time to appear as an evangelical laborer in this country. He was one of the most notable of the Jesuit missionaries in Canada. The son of a poor vine-grower, he ran away while a student and made his way to Italy, where, after a series of adventures, he became tutor in a Jesuit college, and finally entered the order, to offer his services for the missions of New France. After being associated with Father Brébeuf in the Huron and Neuter missions, he took an active part in establishing Catholicity at Onondaga. Then he took charge of the fugitive Hurons at Quebec, founding the mission, which, from his devotion to the Santa Casa, he called "Lorette." The same devotion led him to

During the winter Father le Moyne remained at Onondaga offering mass daily in his chapel for the French and Indian Catholics, whom he gathered again at evening to recite the rosary. Sickness prevailed, and he visited the sick assiduously, giving them all the bodily relief in his power, and instructing for baptism all who showed good-will. His baptisms of dying infants and of adults reached two hundred. Wine for mass failed him at last, and he wrote to the Dutch post, from which he received a small supply. During his stay he visited Cayuga also, and his influence as a missionary extended even to the Seneca country. In the summer of 1662 he was sent back with the remaining French prisoners.

Father Simon le Moyne, the first to open missions among the Mohawks and Onondagas, was born in 1604, and entered the Society of Jesus at the age of nineteen. He came to Canada in 1638, laboring from that time zealously among the Hurons. His intrepidity and ability were hallowed by his zeal and piety. Broken by years of labor, not long after this perilous stay at Onondaga, he died a holy death at Cap de la Magdeleine, Nov. 24, 1665.[1]

After Father Allouez set out to plant Catholicity on Lake

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take an active part in establishing the Confraternity of the Holy Family, which still exists in Canada, and which in the Indian missions in our present limits did incalculable good. Father Chaumonot was famous for his eloquence, preaching in the Italian style, not confined in a pulpit, but moving about. He became a perfect master of the Huron language, his grammar being the key to all the Iroquois dialects. In Onondaga he was equally at home. No one ever adapted himself more thoroughly to the Indian lines of thought and expression. He died in the odor of sanctity at Quebec, February 21, 1693, aged 82. Through obedience he wrote an account of his life, which has been printed, New York, 1858; Paris, 1869, and recently with the introduction of matter merely referred to in the text, by the venerable Father Felix Martin, Paris, 1885.

[1] "Journal des Jesuites," pp. 339–340; "Bannissement des Jesuites de la Louisiane," pp. 113, 132.

Superior, the French government was roused, when too late, to send out a force sufficient to bring the Iroquois cantons to terms, if not to subjection. But it had allowed the opportunity to slip of acquiring New Netherland from the Dutch.

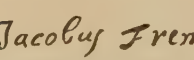
In 1665 Alexander de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy, was sent over as Lieutenant-General of the King, Daniel Remy de Courcelles as Governor of Canada, and the regiment of Carignan-Salieres to operate against the Iroquois, and a number of settlers, nearly doubling the French population of Canada.

The Marquis de Tracy established a line of forts along the River Richelieu, the last, Fort Saint Anne, erected in 1665, being on Isle la Mothe, in Lake Champlain, the first white structure in our present State of Vermont, as its chapel was the first edifice dedicated to Almighty God in that State. In January, 1666, de Courcelles, with a small force on snowshoes, traversed the country to attack the Mohawks; a slight skirmish was the only result, but he returned to Canada with the startling intelligence that the English were in possession of New Netherland, and that thenceforward the Iroquois would be backed not by the easy-going Hollander, but by the grasping English, who held with a firm hand the whole coast from the Kennebec to the Roanoke. The boldness of de Courcelles' march had its effect. The Mohawks and Oneidas sought peace as the Onondagas had already done. It was granted, and the Jesuit missionary Beschefer was sent to ratify it. Before he could reach Lake Champlain tidings came that the Mohawks had broken the peace, killed some French officers and captured others.

The French force was soon in movement, new embassies from the cantons, and messages from the English, creating but little delay. It was accompanied by four chaplains, the Rev. Mr. DuBois, chaplain of the Carignan regiment, Rev.

Dollier de Casson, a Sulpitian, and the Jesuit Fathers, Albanel and Raffeix. The Mohawks, on hearing of the approach of a large force, abandoned three towns and took refuge in the fourth, which was strongly palisaded. Here they resolved to make a stand, but as Tracy advanced they fled. The French took solemn possession of the Mohawk country, a Te Deum was chanted and mass said in the great town. Then the country was ravaged, the stores of provisions laid up by the Mohawks were destroyed, and their towns given to the flames. The humbled Indians, their old renown lost, returned to starve amid the ruins of their castles. They sought peace, they asked for missionaries.

The Jesuits did not hesitate to trust their lives again to a nation which had caused the death of so many of their order. After kneeling to receive the blessing of the Bishop of Petræa, Father James Fremin and Father John Pierron set out in July, 1667, for the Mohawk, and Father James Bruyas for the Oneidas, but at Fort Saint Anne, on Isle La Mothe, they found their way beset by Mohegans who hoped to ambuscade and slay the Mohawk envoys. They remained at the fort for a month, giving a mission to the garrison, the first undoubtedly in the history of the Church in Vermont, then committing themselves to Divine Providence, went on.[1] They were taken by their guides to Gandaouagué, "the town," says Father Fremin, "which the late Father Jogues bedewed with his blood, and where he was so horribly treated during his eighteen months' captivity." A congregation of Huron and Algonquin captives was already there anxious for their ministry, and Father Fremin gathered



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER JAMES FREMIN.

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1666–7, ch. 18 (Quebec ed., pp. 28–9).

them in an isolated cabin to instruct them, prepare them for the sacraments, and baptize their children. A Mohawk woman too came forward, and following his instructions, sought baptism. The missionaries then visited the other two towns of the Mohawk nation, and three smaller hamlets, so that they soon had an organized Christian flock. On the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, they addressed the sachems, and delivered the wampum belts which they bore from the French governor.

A site was selected at Tionnontoguen for their chapel; it was erected by the Mohawks, and similar chapels were reared in the other towns. Such was the beginning of the Mission of St. Mary of the Mohawks. Here the missionaries labored, making at first little impression on the Iroquois, and exposed to insult and even danger from the braves when infuriated by the liquor which traders freely sold them. After visiting Albany, Father Pierron returned to Quebec, but was soon again on the Mohawk, Fremin leaving the field of his year's labor to found a mission among the Senecas.[1]

Reaching the Oneida castle in September, 1667, Father James Bruyas soon had his chapel dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, in which he said mass for the first time on St. Michael's day. He too found Christians to form a congregation, needing instruction, encouragement, and consolation. They were the nucleus around which some well-disposed Oneidas soon gathered.[2] During the year, he was joined by Father Julian Garnier, who soon after proceeded to Onondaga. Garaconthié welcomed him cordially, and erected a chapel for his use, which was dedicated to St. John the Baptist. To place the Church on a solid basis, this chief pro-

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1668, ch. i.–ii., Quebec edition, 3, pp. 2–13. Hawley, "Early Chapters of Mohawk History."

[2] "Relation," 1668, ch. 3, Quebec edition, 3, p. 14.

posed to the heads of the great families, an embassy to Quebec, with which he set out.

Then Father Stephen Carheil and Father Peter Milet began at Cayuga to revive the work begun by Father Ménard,[1] in this mission of St. Joseph.

One thing was evident to the missionaries in all the cantons, that unless some check was given to the traders who sold liquor to the Indians, there was no hope for their civilization and conversion. Father Pierron, with the Mohawk sachems, appealed to Governor Lovelace, of New York, that his influence might arrest the traffic. His reply acknowledged the devoted labors of the Jesuit missionaries, and sympathy with their work.

Father Fremin reached the first Seneca village November 1, 1668, and was received with all the honors paid to ambassadors. A chapel was then reared for him, and captive Christians incorporated into the nation, came eagerly to obtain the benefits of religion.[2] Catholicity had thus her chapels in each of the five Iroquois cantons, with zealous priests laboring earnestly to convert the Iroquois. The worship of Tharonhiawagon, the superstitious observance of dreams, the open debaucheries, formed a great obstacle, and the thirst for spirituous liquors inflamed all their bad passions. Besides this, prejudice against the Catholic priests was imparted to the Iroquois by the Dutch and English of Albany,[3] and by Hurons, who, in their own country, had resisted all the teachings of the missionaries. Father Carheil tried to instruct and baptize a dying girl, but her Huron father prevented him, and told him that he was like Father Brébeuf,

[1] "Relation," 1668, ch. 4, 5, Quebec edition, 3, pp. 16–20.

[2] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1669, ch. 1–5, Quebec edition, pp. 1–17.

[3] See "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1670, p. 32.

and wished only to kill her. The missionary, driven from the cabin, could only weep and pray for the poor girl, who expired amid the wild rites of the medicine-men. The Huron then roused the people to slay the missionary, whom he accused of killing his child.

The prisoners brought in and burned at the stake, were always attended by the missionaries, who sought to instruct them and prepare them for death by baptism, and there is no page more thrilling than that in which a missionary records his presence near the sufferer, amid the horrible tortures inflicted on him.

The faith seemed to make but little progress in the hearts of the Iroquois themselves, yet many of the better and abler leaders had been careful observers, and in their own hearts recognized the superiority of the gospel law, though their immovable faces betrayed nothing of the inward conviction.

The open avowal of Garaconthié, the able Onondaga chief, at a council convoked at Quebec, in consequence of a renewal of hostilities between the Senecas and Ottawas, was a startling surprise, as consoling as it was unexpected. "As to the faith which Onnontio (the French Governor) wishes to see everywhere diffused, I publicly profess it among my countrymen; I no longer adhere to any superstition, I renounce polygamy, the vanity of dreams, and every kind of sin." For sixteen years he had been a constant friend of the French, he had attended instructions, had even solicited baptism, yet the Fathers had hesitated, though his pure life seemed to attest his sincerity. His avowal on this occasion, won Bishop Laval, who, finding him sufficiently instructed, resolved to baptize and confirm him. The ceremony took place in the Cathedral of Quebec, the Governor being his godfather, and Mlle. Bouteroue, daughter of the Intendant, his godmother. In the church, crowded with Indians of

almost every tribe in the valley of the St. Lawrence, he received at the font the name of Daniel, that of Governor de Courcelles, and was then entertained with honor at the Castle of Quebec.[1] The effect of this conversion was incalculable, not only at Onondaga, but in all the other cantons. Reaching the Mohawk towns at a critical moment, when Father Pierron, in attempting to expose the absurdity of the Indian traditional tales, had been commanded to be silent, but by treating their conduct as an insult, had made it an affair of state, to be discussed by the great council of the tribe, Garaconthié threw his whole influence adroitly on the side of the missionary, and the result was a public renunciation of Agreskoué or Tharonhiawagon as their divinity, the act being ratified by an exchange of belts between the missionary and the nation.[2] At Oneida, Garaconthié spoke in favor of the faith, and gave a wampum belt to attest the sincerity of his words.[3] At Onondaga, he urged Father Milet not to confine his instructions to the children, but to explain the Christian law to adults. The missionary gave a feast, and erected a pulpit covered with red, with a Bible and crucifix above, and all the symbols of the superstitions and vices of the country below. A wampum belt hung up conspicuously betokened the unity of God. His discourse, carefully prepared, produced an immense influence, and thenceforward he had among his auditors the best men of the nation.

The triumph of Father Pierron on the Mohawk was not a mere transitory one. The old gods of the Hotinonsionni fell and forever, not only in that canton, but in the others. Dieu, the God preached by the missionaries which soon on Iroquois lip became as it now is, "Niio," has since been

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1670, ch. 2, Quebec edition, pp. 5–6.

[2] Ibid., c. 5.

[3] Ibid., c. 6.

worshipped by the Five Nations, whether they profess Christianity or not. By a providential law, the Iroquois term to express the Lord, or rather He is the Lord, is Hawenniio, which seems to embody the term for God.

The open honor to their old gods was gone, but to eradicate superstitions, especially the idea that dreams must be carried out, no matter how absurd or wicked, was not easy; and to build up in these hearts, ignorant of all control, the self-denying system of the law of grace, was a task of no ordinary magnitude. The missionaries resorted to all devices suited to the ignorant, to whom a book was a mystery. The symbolical paintings devised by Rev. Mr. Le Nobletz, in France, were of great service, and Father Pierron invented a game which the Mohawks took up very readily, and in which some dull minds learned truths of faith as to which instructions seemed never clear enough to reach their comprehension. When they saw, in this way, that mortal sin led to hell, unless one could, by the path of penance, return to grace, the whole came vividly before their minds while the missionary instructed them.[1]

Yet the profession of Christianity was not regarded without aversion. A woman of rank, an Oyander, having become a Christian, was in a council of the tribe, convoked for the purpose, degraded from her rank, although she held it by descent. Another was installed in her place, and, stripped of her property, she went to Canada to enjoy in peace the exercise of her religion.[2]

It was not easy again for the missionaries to inculcate self-control, temperance, and chastity, when the English and French governments alike, permitted unlimited sale of liquor to the Indians, by which the doctrines of the missionaries were contradicted and vice encouraged.

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1670, p. 38. [2] Ibid., p. 6.

Father Bruyas, at Oneida, saw his efforts thwarted by the prevalent drunkenness of the men, who were deaf to all exhortations, their hearts being like the rock from which the tribe derives its name, and they so influenced the women that it was only when the braves were absent on the war-path or the hunts that they ventured to attend the instructions in the chapel.[1]

We see an example of this in the Huron, Francis Tonsahoten, who, though a Christian, did not avow or practice his religion openly, but when going off to a hunt, told his Erie wife to attend the instructions of the missionary during his absence. She became the earnest and pious Catholic, Catharine Ganneaktena, the foundress of the mission of La Prairie, after having been the tutor of Father Bruyas in the Oneida dialect.[2] At a later period, the missionary, at these seasons, assembled the old men, and expounded the mysteries of faith to them, refuting their superstitious fables. These conferences showed by their fruit that they had touched many a heart.[3]

Unable to celebrate the holidays of the Church at Oneida, Father Bruyas frequently went on those occasions to Onondaga, where the children sang the truths of Christianity through the town; and where Father Milet, addressing the sachems, attacked the Dream superstition, the last stronghold of Iroquois paganism. They yielded to his arguments and formally renounced it, reminding him that Agreskoué was no longer named at their feasts, which indeed, on all great occasions, were opened by the blessing asked by the priest.[4] The failure of some dream prophecies of the medicine-men

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1670, p. 53.

[2] Chauchetiere, "Vie de la B. Catherine Tegakouita."

[3] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1672, p. 19.

[4] Ib., 1670, p. 53; Chauchetiere, "Vie de la B. Catherine Tegakouita," ch. 12. Catharine emigrated to Montreal in 1667.

about this time, aided the missionary cause by discrediting those impostors.

Still the Catholic Church at Onondaga was made up mainly of old Huron and other Christian Indians, whom the misfortunes of war had consigned to that place, with a few converts made during the existence of Saint Mary's, at Ganentaa.[1] Father Carheil, at Cayuga, struggled with the same difficulties, converting a few, chiefly in sickness, which ravaged many of the cantons, but with his auxiliary René he built a neat chapel of wood, resembling Indian cabins in nothing but the bark roof. Father Fremin, at the Seneca town of Saint Michael, erected his chapel for the large and distinct body of Huron Christians, many of whom were eminent for piety and fervor. Among these, James Atondo is recorded as one given to prayer, and constant in exhorting others to observe the commandments of God, and lead a pious life. Francis Tehoronhiongo, baptized by Father Brébeuf, the host of Father le Moyne, who, after edifying his own land, and that of his exile, died at the Mountain of Montreal, knew all the leading events of Scripture history as well as the Catechism, and not only trained his own family to a Christian life, but was so constantly instructing all around him, that Father Garnier says: "If the Gospel had never been published in this country by missionaries, this man alone would have announced it sufficiently to justify at the Day of Judgment the conduct of God for the salvation of all men."[2] That missionary had come to Onondaga to aid Fremin, and had reared a chapel at Gandachioragou, as Fremin did in September, 1669, at St. Michael's.[3]

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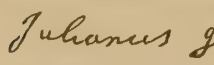
[1] "Relation," 1670, p. 61.

[2] Ib., p. 71; "History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes," p. 328.

[3] St. Michael's (Gandougarae) was probably about five miles southeast

The 26th of August, 1670, saw a little synod of the clergy of New York, held at Onondaga. Fathers Fremin from Seneca, and Carheil from Cayuga, had joined Father Milet, and on that day Fathers Bruyas from Oneida, and Pierron from the Mohawk, arrived. They spent six days in concerting the steps to be taken to ensure success in their missions, and the means of overcoming the obstacles which impeded the establishment of the faith.[1] Yet their lives were in peril when tidings came that several of the tribe had been murdered by the French.

The influence of this untoward tidings was soon perceived. Returning to his Seneca mission, Father Julian Garnier reached Gandachioragou safely, but while passing through Gandagarae, was assaulted by an Indian maddened with drink, who twice endeavored to plunge a knife into his body; but as Father Fremin wonderingly attests, the brave Jesuit never paled in the hour of danger, such was his firmness and resolution. He took up his abode at Gandachioragou, where there were only three or four avowed Christians. Then he founded the Mission of the Immaculate Conception, and began to study the Seneca language, drawing up the outlines of a Grammar and a Dictionary which is still extant.[2]



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER JULIAN GARNIER.

Father Fremin, though still retaining charge of Saint Michael, St. James, and the other Seneca towns, was prevented by illness from resuming his labors there.[3] But the

of the present town of Victor; Gandachioragou was probably at the site of Lima; Gandagaro (St. James) south of the village of Victor, and Sonnontuan, or The Conception, a mile and a half N.N.W. of Honeoye Falls. This is the result of the careful and patient study of Gen. John S. Clark. Hawley, "Early Chapters of Seneca History," Auburn, 1884, pp. 25–6.

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1670, p. 77.

[2] It is preserved at the mission of Sault St. Louis.

[3] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1671, p. 21.

next spring, the town of St. Michael's with his chapel, was utterly destroyed by fire, and it was regarded as a judgment for its resistance to the faith. The tribe promised to erect a new and finer chapel within the palisades that enclosed the new town.

Saonchiogwa, the great Cayuga chief, undertook an embassy to Quebec in the year 1671, to make terms on behalf of the Senecas who had violated the peace; after terminating that affair satisfactorily, he sought Father Chaumonot, whose words in the great address at Onondaga years before, had never left his mind. He had made his cabin the home of Fathers Ménard and de Carheil, had carefully followed their instructions and studied their lives. Yet he was such a type of the wily, diplomatic Indian, that the missionaries were not convinced of his sincerity. Now, however, his conduct, his language, all convinced the missionary. He was baptized by Bishop Laval, Talon, the Intendant, acting as his godfather, and Huron, Algonquin, and Iroquois, sat down together at the bounteous feast spread after the ceremony.[1] The accession to the Christian cause of a man of the ability of Saonchiogwa, who now took his stand beside Daniel Garaconthié, was incalculable. Both were men of unblemished reputation, who had acquired the highest rank in the councils of the Five Nations, by their wisdom, ability, and eloquence. Garaconthié, after his conversion, gave a banquet, and announced that his actions were now to be guided by the Christian law, that his life should be pure, and what duties he had hitherto discharged, would now be still more exactly fulfilled from a higher motive. In regard to dreams, he announced that he would in no case do a single act to fulfil one, or take part in any of the superstitious customs of their forefathers.

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1671, pp. 3–4.

These follies were the ruin, not the mainstay of their country. Many who had hesitated before, took courage and now came forward to embrace and to practice a faith professed by such superior men. At Albany, Garaconthié reproached the authorities for having sought the furs of his countrymen, corrupting them with liquor, but never seeking to deliver them from their spiritual blindness, or teach them the way to God. "You ask me why I wear this crucifix and these beads around my neck? you ridicule me, you tell me that it is good for nothing; you blame me, and show contempt for the true and saving doctrine taught us by the black-gowns. What blessing after that can you expect from God, in your treaties of peace, when you blaspheme against His most adorable mysteries and constantly offend Him?"[1]

Almost at once by a single eloquent address, he prevented the annual saturnalia known as Onnonhouaroia.

After four or five years' toil at Oneida, Father Bruyas was assigned to the Mohawk and became Superior of the Iroquois missions, Father Milet succeeding him. At Cayuga, Father Carheil was so affected by a nervous disorder that he was forced to resign his mission for a time to Father Raffeix. Returning to Canada and finding medical skill unequal to the cure of his malady, he turned to a higher physician and sought his cure from God in prayer, before the shrines of Our Lady of Foye and St. Anne at Beaupré. He recovered and returned to his mission. Medals of Saint Anne, dug up to this day in the old land of the Cayugas, are doubtless due to the pious gratitude of this missionary, who diffused devotion to the Mother of Our Lady. On his return, Father

FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER RAFFEIX.

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1671, p. 17.

Raffeix hastened to the Seneca towns to aid Father Garnier, and Father de Lamberville was in charge at Onondaga.

Among the Senecas there was great instability; now the sachems of a town would hold a council and decide that all must pray to God, in other words, place themselves under instruction for baptism; then on the prompting of some apostate Huron, or some fire-brand from another Iroquois tribe, they would decide that the missionary was a spy and a sorcerer, and propose his death.[1]

Meanwhile the faith was gaining, especially among the Mohawks; but the converts were assailed by temptations from within and without. The heathen party used every effort to lead the Christians into drunkenness, debauchery, and superstitious observances; many after the first fervor had subsided, yielded to these insidious advances, and the missionaries groaned to see that it was almost impossible for any one to persevere where all around breathed vice and corruption, and where there was no strong body of Christians to give moral support by a pious example.

The war waged by the Mohegans on the Mohawks had kept the latter constantly on the alert, and prevented easy access to Albany. With peace in 1673 came such a universal debauchery that a fatal epidemic ensued. Father Bruyas and his associate, Father Boniface, labored incessantly, attending the sick and preparing for a Christian death all who showed any disposition to embrace the faith, and recalling those who, having once professed Christianity, had yielded to temptation. Father Boniface at Gandaouagué and Gannagaro, forming St. Peter's mission, had what were regarded as the first and principal Iroquois churches, the faith being more constantly embraced and more bravely professed. The towns

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1672, p. 25.

were small, but they contained more practical Catholics than all the rest of the Iroquois castles. The result was attributed to the intercession of Father Jogues and René Goupil. The services of the Church were performed openly and with no little pomp, even the Blessed Bread being given as in French churches. The Catholic women wore their beads and medals openly, even when visiting the English settlements.[1] One of these faithful women was the wife of Kryn, the principal chief, and called by the French, "The Great Mohawk." So incensed was this haughty Indian that he abandoned her and went away from the village and the cabin. Moodily hunting he came at last to La Prairie. The order and regularity prevailing in that little Catholic settlement so impressed his naturally upright mind that he remained there. In a short time the bravest warrior and leader of the Mohawks was kneeling in all humility to receive instruction in the doctrine of Christ. When his rallying-cry resounded again through the valley of the Mohawk, Kryn entered the castle as a fervent disciple, to the astonishment of the heathens and to the joy of his forsaken wife. With her and many others he soon set out for the banks of the Saint Lawrence, accompanied, among the rest, by a young warrior, who, as Martin Skandegonrhaksen, became the model of the mission.[2]

The Mohawks of Tionnotoguen did not show this inclination for the true faith, and they reproached Father Bruyas with trying to depopulate the country; and he gave a wampum belt to attest that neither he nor his associate had instigated the Great Mohawk.[3]

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[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1673, pp. 33; "Relations Inédites," i., pp. 1–19;

[2] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1673, p. 45, etc.; "Relations Inédites," pp. 18–20; ii., pp. 50–4; Chauchetiere, "Vie de Catherine Tegakouita."

[3] "Relation," 1673, p. 54; "Relations Inédites," i., pp. 20–21.

Among the Onondagas Father John de Lamberville was consoled and supported by the zeal and fervor of Garaconthié. His open profession of Christianity drew on that remarkable man the hatred of some of the sachems, who endeavored to break down his influence, declaring that he was no longer a man, that the black-robes had disordered his mind. They said that as he had given up the customs of the Onondaga nation, he evidently cared nothing for it; but when any embassy was to be sent or an eloquent speaker was desired for any occasion, all turned to Garaconthié. When he was once prostrated by disease, the whole canton was in alarm. To the Christians he was an example and a constant monitor. Father Carheil continued his labors among the Cayugas, Father Julian Garnier at the Seneca mission of St. Michael, and Father Raffeix at that of the Conception, gaining a few adults in health, baptizing more who turned to them when the hand of sickness prostrated them.[1]

FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER JOHN DE LAMBERVILLE.

The next year Father Bruyas won the aged but able sachem, Assendasé, one of the pillars of the old Mohawk faith, who, crafty and astute, upheld his influence by his renown as a medicine-man. He had listened to the instructions of the missionary, but had for two years resisted God's grace, when the earnest words of Count Frontenac at Montreal gave him courage to avow his conviction, renounce his errors, and seek baptism.[2] Assendasé's family followed his example, although sickness and misfortune came to test their constancy. His conversion roused the heathen party, and one

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1673, pp. 55–114; "Relations Inédites," i., pp. 57–68.

[2] Ibid., pp. 235–278.

of his own kindred, maddened by drink, tore the rosary and crucifix from the neck of the aged chief and threatened to kill him. "Kill me," said Assendasé; "I shall be happy to die in so good a cause; I shall not regret my life if I give it in testimony of my faith." His example exerted a great influence. The fervor of those already Christians was revived by the reception of a statue of the Blessed Virgin, received from the shrine of Notre Dame de Foye, which was exposed to the faithful on the feast of the Immaculate Conception with all possible pomp. Catholicity had an open and authorized existence, and scarcely a Sunday passed without the baptism of some child or adult.

Father Boniface, prostrated by illness, was compelled to leave the mission, and was succeeded at Gandaouagué by Father James de Lamberville.[1] But the Mohawk mission sustained a terrible loss by the death in August, 1675, of Peter Assendasé, the Christian chief, who expired after a long and painful illness, which he bore with piety and patience, refusing all the superstitious remedies proposed, and declaring: "I wish to die a Christian and keep the word I have pledged to God at my baptism. I do not ascribe my illness to it, as my kindred falsely imagine. We must all die; the heathens will die as well as I. There is one God who sets a limit to my life; He will do with me as He will; I accept willingly all that comes from His hand, be it life or death."[2]

This was a severe blow to Father Bruyas at Agnié, but

[1] "Relations Inédites," ii., pp. 35–45; "Relation," 1673–9, p. 178. Father Boniface wasted away in a delirious state. His religious brethren began devotions to invoke the intercession of Father Brébeuf, and regarded as a miracle Father Boniface's recovery of his senses, soon after which he expired in great piety December 17, 1674. MS. Attestation of the Miracle.

[2] "Relations Inédites," ii., p. 102; "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1673–9, pp. 147–151; "Relation," 1676–7, pp. 7, etc.

Father James de Lamberville had his consolations at Gandaouagué. Going one day through the town when most of the people were absent in the fields, he was impelled to enter the cabin of a great enemy of the faith. There he found the niece of that chief, Tegakouita, daughter of a Christian Algonquin mother, prevented by an injury to her foot from being at work with the rest. She was a lily of purity whom God had preserved unscathed amid all the dangers surrounding her. It had been the great longing of her heart to be a Christian, but her shy modesty prevented her addressing the missionary. Father Lamberville saw at once that she was a soul endowed with higher gifts, and he invited her to the instructions given at the chapel. These she attended with the strictest fidelity, learning the prayers and the abridgment of Christian doctrine readily in her desire to be united by baptism to our Lord. She edified all by her fervor, and was solemnly baptized in the chapel on Easter Sunday, 1675, receiving the name of Catharine.

Her uncle had at first done nothing to prevent her attending the chapel or performing her devotions in the cabin; but persecution soon came when she declared that she would not go to the field to work on Sunday. They endeavored in vain to starve her into subjection by taking all food away with them, leaving her to fast all day unless she came to them, when they intended to compel her to work. She cheerfully bore the mortification rather than offend God by neglecting to sanctify the Lord's day.

Father Lamberville soon found that the usual regulations adopted for the women converts did not apply to Catharine. What they were urged to avoid she had always shunned. Higher and more spiritual was the life she was to lead. "The Holy Ghost," says her biographer, Father Chauchetiere, "who wrought more in her than man, directed her in-

teriorly in all, so that she pleased God and men, for the most wicked admired her, and the good found matter for imitation in her."

Though her example and services were of the utmost benefit to him, and the crosses she underwent increased her merit, the missionary was in constant fear, and urged her to go to La Prairie, and meanwhile to be incessant in prayer. Her uncle, who, in the system of Iroquois relationship, stands in the stead of a father, would, she knew, never consent to her departure. She feared that the attempt might lead to trouble, and perhaps result in the death of some one at the hands of her furious guardian, who once sent a brave into the cabin to kill the "Christian woman," as she had grown to be commonly called. She did not quail, and feared not her own death, but that of any one who attempted to aid her. At last, however, the resolute chief, Hot Cinders, came to Gaudaouagué. Catharine felt that in him she had a tower of strength, and told Father Lamberville that she was ready to start for La Prairie with her brother-in-law, who had come with Hot Cinders. During her uncle's absence, she and her companions started by a circuitous route, and though pursued by her uncle with bloodthirsty design, reached La Prairie, which she was to edify in life and make glorious by her death and the favors ascribed to her intercession after the close of her virginal life.[1]

The year of Catharine's baptism Father de Lamberville had in vain endeavored to reach a Mohawk who had for eight months been lingering on a pallet of pain, but the doors of the cabin were closed against him. "In this extremity," he writes, "I had recourse to the venerable Father Jogues, to whom I commended this man, and at once the

[1] Chauchetiere, "Vie de Catherine Tegakouita," New York, 1886.

PORTRAIT OF CATHARINE TEGAKOUITA, FROM THE PICTURE IN DE LA POTHERIE.

cabin doors opened and gave me access to instruct and baptize him. The conversion is a special work of divine grace, and a special favor obtained by the merits of Father Isaac Jogues, who shed his blood here in God's quarrel, having been massacred by these savages in hatred of the faith."

At Oneida Father Milet made less progress, and it was only the higher and abler minds that were impressed. One chief was converted in 1672; a few years after another, who withdrew from the village and cabined apart to keep aloof from the superstitions and debaucheries of his tribe. In 1675 Milet converted the great chief, Soenrese. The missionary was consoled by the fervor of his flock and the decay of the worship of Agreskoué.

In the several cantons the missionaries derived great consolation from the Confraternity of the Holy Family, a pious association founded at Montreal by Father Chaumonot, Rev. Mr. Souel, and the Ven. Margaret Bourgeoys. It was attached to every Catholic chapel in the Iroquois country and sustained the faith and Christian life of all.[1] But the missions were entering on a period of trial; the death of some Christian chiefs, the removal of others to La Prairie had emboldened the heathens, who began to menace the lives of the missionaries and treat the Christians with oppression and insult. Garaconthié was far advanced in years, and in 1676, feeling that his life was uncertain, he gave three solemn banquets. One was to declare that they were not given in accordance with any dream, and that he renounced all super

FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF FATHER JOSEPH M. CHAUMONOT.

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1673; 1675; 1676; 1673–9, p. 182; "Relations Inédites," ii., pp. 38, 106, 99–111.

stitious rites; in another he denounced the banquets where all must be devoured by the guests. In the third he sang his Death Song, as he was now so old. He saluted the Master of Life, whom he acknowledged as sovereign of our fortunes; on whom, and not on dreams, our life and death depended. He also saluted the bishop in Canada, and other dignitaries there, telling them, as though they were present, that he wished to die a Christian, and hoped that they would pray to God for him. He concluded by making a public profession of his faith, and by disavowing all the errors in which he had lived before his baptism.

He attended the midnight mass at Christmas with his whole family, coming a long distance through the snow. Attacked by a pulmonary disease, he repaired to the chapel, and after kneeling there in prayer, told Father Lamberville, "I am a dead man," and made his confession with great compunction. During his illness his prayer was constant; then giving the farewell banquet, in which two young warriors announced his wishes, the Rosary was recited, and after the Commendation of a Departing Soul, he peacefully yielded up his soul. The great Catholic chief of Onondaga, Daniel Garaconthié, stands in history as one of the most extraordinary men of the Iroquois league.[1]

Father Carheil at Cayuga, aided for a time by Father Pierron, and Fathers Garnier and Raffeix in the Seneca towns, had not met the encouragement found in the Eastern cantons. The old Huron element was the nucleus of the Catholic body, with more converts from the subjugated Neuters and Onnontiogas and captive Susquehannas than from the Cayugas and Senecas.

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[1] "Relations Inédites," ii., pp. 112–114, 197–205; "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1673–9, pp 185–192; "Relation," 1676–7, pp. 24–29.

About the year 1678 Father Francis Vaillant succeeded Father Bruyas at Tionnontoguen, and that master of the Mohawk language proceeded to Onondaga to continue the work of Father John de Lamberville, and Father John Pierron, leaving the Mohawks, joined the missionaries in the Seneca nation, after being at Cayuga in 1676. Bruyas' labors on the Mohawk had been most fruitful and his influence great. The language of the nation he spoke with fluency and correctness, and he drew up a vocabulary and a work called "Racines Agnières," or "Mohawk Radicals," in which the primitive words were given and the derivatives from them explained. He also wrote a catechism and prayer-book.[1]

During the period of the Iroquois missions of which we have more ample details, the missionaries, in constant peril and hardship, had earnestly labored among the Five Nations; their great success was with the sick and dying, and the baptisms of adults and infants, which, from 1668 to 1678, amounted to 2,221, did not in consequence greatly increase the church militant on earth, though it did the church triumphant in heaven. The emigration of Christians to Canada, which the missionaries urged to prevent apostasy, also prevented great increase of numbers in the cantons. The missionaries maintained their chapels and instructions mainly for the little body of Christians who were not able to withdraw.

The attitude of the English in New York and their claims over the territory of the Five Nations showed the missionaries that in a few years the land of the Iroquois would be closed to them.

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1673–9, p. 140; Bruyas' "Racines Agnières" was published in Shea's "American Linguistics" in 1862–3. It had been used by Father Hennepin, "Nouvelle Découverte," p. 37.

The Catholic Indian emigrants from New York settled, some at La Prairie, some at Lorette with the Hurons, and others again at the Mountain at Montreal, where the Sulpitians of the Seminary had established an Iroquois mission, the fruit of their labors among the portion of the Cayuga tribe which settled on Quinté Bay.[1]

The Jesuits had, too, in 1669, erected a little house at La Prairie de la Magdeleine, as a place where missionaries coming from the Iroquois or Ottawa missions might recruit; but Indians began to stop there, and some desired to remain for instruction, so that it soon required the constant service of two experienced priests to minister to people of many different languages. Indians from the cantons of the Five Nations, who lacked courage to avow their desire to become Christians, or who had embraced the faith, but feared to lose it, proposed to Father Fremin that they should settle at La Prairie. The missionary, fully aware of the difficulty of a convert's preserving the faith amid the prejudice and seductions of the Iroquois castles, beheld in this, a providential design. Catharine Ganneaktena, an Erie convert, was the foundress of the new village. Others soon followed her example, and when the report spread that a new Iroquois town had been formed at La Prairie, so many came that a government was organized, and chiefs to govern the town were elected with the usual Iroquois forms and ceremonies. By the first laws promulgated, no one was permitted to take up his residence unless he renounced three things, Belief in Dreams, Changing wives, and Drunkenness: and any one admitted who offended on these points was to be expelled.

The village thus formed, showed the importance of the course. No longer opposed or persecuted, no longer allured

[1] Shea, "History of the Catholic Missions," pp. 293–311.

to resist or abandon the faith, catechumens came assiduously to instructions, and those already Christians, practiced their religion, praying and approaching the sacraments with fervor. The better instructed became dogiques or catechists of others, and one of these attended every band that went out from the village for the winter hunt. A catechumen and his wife while out on a hunting expedition, fell in with two leading Mohawks, one of them Kryn, the Great Mohawk. These listened with interest to what they heard of the new village and its moral code. They felt that it was a rightful course; they joined the catechumens in their devotions, and going back to their tribe for their wives, came to La Prairie with forty-two companions.[1] Every hunting party that went out, acted as apostles, and the men of their tribe whom they met, were so impressed by their probity, their devotions, and their instructions, that a party seldom returned to La Prairie without bringing some candidate to the missionary.[2] In this way a famous Oneida chief, called by the French, "Hot Cinders," from his fiery disposition, who had left his own canton in disgust at some affront, was led to visit La Prairie, where he remained and became one of the most fervent Christians, his ability soon causing his election as one of the chiefs. He was installed with all the formalities used in the Iroquois cantons, the same harangues and symbolical acts: but through inadvertence, the presentation of a mat was omitted. He complained to the missionary that he had been made a fool of, that he was no chief, as he had no mat to sit upon, and the whole ceremonial was repeated to make his induction strictly legal.[3] This mission lost in 1673 its foundress,

[1] "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1673; New York, 1861, p. 30; "Relations Inédites," Paris, 1861, i., pp. 179–189.

[2] Ibid., i., pp. 279–283.

[3] Chauchetiere, "Vie de Catharine Tegakouita."

Catharine Ganneaktena, who died full of piety, having preserved her baptismal innocence unsullied, and regarded as a saint by the little Christian community which had grown up around her and revered her as a mother.[1]

On Whitmonday, May 26, 1675, Bishop Laval extended the visitation of his diocese to this mission, where he was received with great pomp and joy, and the next day he conferred the sacrament of confirmation in an Iroquois chapel. The bishop was greatly touched and edified by the Christian deportment of the Indians, and the peace and happiness that prevailed in the village. He remained some days to visit the whole mission, giving free access to all.[2]

The mission had remarkable men in the Great Mohawk, and in the Oneida Chief, Louis Garonhiagué. It received its most illustrious and holy member in the autumn of 1677, when Catharine Tegakouita arrived from the town of Gandawagué. There she began the life of toil, recollection, and prayer, seeking in all things to do what was most agreeable to God. The little bark chapel was the home where she spent the hours not required by the assiduous toil of an Indian woman, for having renounced for God all idea of marriage, she lived with her brother-in-law, and not to be a burthen labored constantly. The work of an Iroquois woman included felling and cutting up trees for firewood. Once a tree she had felled as it descended hurled her to the ground, a branch striking her. As soon as she recovered her senses she exclaimed: "My Jesus! I thank Thee for having preserved me from that accident," and took up her hatchet to continue her work: her companions compelled her to go

[1] Chauchetiere, "Vie de Catharine Tegakouita." "Relations Inédites," i., pp. 284–298. "Relation de la Nouvelle France," 1673–9, pp. 162–174.

[2] "Relations Inédites," ii., pp. 58, etc., 168, etc.

and rest, but she said that God lent her a little more life to do penance, and that she must employ her time well.

A new church was rising under the hands of the carpenters, something grand in the eyes of the Indians. To her in her humility it seemed that she was not worthy to enter, and was fit only to be driven from it. She enrolled herself in the Confraternity of the Holy Family, and adopted a rule of life which she followed exactly. When the family went off to hunt, and she could not hear masses daily, she made a little oratory to which she retired to pray. All soon regarded her as a holy virgin dedicated to God; but this did not affect her humility or spirit of penance except to increase it, and augment the austerity of her life. The winter spent with the hunting-party was to her one of such spiritual privation that she ever after preferred bodily privation in the village so long as she could attend the adorable sacrifice, spend hours before the Blessed Sacrament and often receive it.

Her health, never sound, failed gradually. She could only drag herself to the chapel, and leaning on a bench commune with God. In the spring of 1680 she was unable to leave her mat, and prepared for her death. She had renounced the world in which she had lived, with its pleasures and its vanities; she had practiced the evangelical counsels of chastity, poverty, and obedience. When Father Fremin gave her the last sacraments he asked her to address those around her, for the cabin was filled. She had in life unconsciously to herself filled the mission with new fervor, and he wished her influence to be lasting. Assisted by all the consolations of religion she expired on Wednesday in Holy Week, and the Indians came to kiss her hands, and to spend the day and night in prayer beside her lifeless remains. The missionary pronounced her eulogium there, holding her up to all as a

model for imitation. She was buried at a spot selected by herself three years before.

The reputation of her virtue spread through Canada. The missionaries and all who had known her attested her exalted virtues and sanctity, and her grave became a pilgrimage. Bishop Laval came to the Sault with the Marquis de Denonville, and prayed at the tomb of "the Genevieve of Canada," as he styled her. The priests of neighboring parishes, who at first checked devotion to the "Good Catharine," came to pray, as did Rev. Mr. Colombiere from Quebec, and sturdy old soldiers like Du Lhut.

The miracles ascribed to her intercession, of which a host are recorded, have kept devotion to her alive in Canada. Her relics, and all belonging to her, were eagerly sought; little objects she had made, pieces of wood, even, that she had chopped. Father Chauchetiere painted her portrait, and this was copied and circulated. De la Potherie, in his "Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale," gives an engraving based evidently on one of these pictures by the missionary, and we give an exact reproduction of it.

The introduction of cause of her canonization with those of Father Jogues and René Goupil was solicited from the Holy See by the Fathers of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.[1]

[1] The fullest account of Catharine is her Life by Father Claude Chauchetiere, New York, 1886; a shorter life by F. Cholonek is in the "Lettres Edifiantes," Vol. XII. (Paris, 1727). Kip's "Jesuit Missions," New York, 1847, pp. 82–113; and in Charlevoix, "Histoire de la Nouvelle France" (Shea's Translation, iv., p. 283); Mgr. St. Valier, second Bishop of Quebec, records her holy life in his "Estat Present," pp. 48–9.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE CHURCH FROM THE PENOBSCOT TO THE MISSISSIPPI, 1680–1690.

Such was the position of the Church in the part of North America claimed by France. Devoted priests had established missions among the five Iroquois nations and among the Algonquin tribes around Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior. In all these parts France had not a single settlement, not a trading post or fort; a few adventurous fur trappers alone threaded the Indian trails in those regions where the Catholic missionaries were patiently laboring.

France seemed utterly indifferent to the vast realm in her grasp. No attempt was made to restore the settlement at Ganentaa, or the fort on Isle La Motte, in Lake Champlain; no vessel was built to extend the trade on the lakes. In all our present territory there was not a post that France could claim till the treaty of Breda, in July, 1667, restored Pentagoet to the Most Christian king.[1] But the French Government was at last aroused to the importance of the vast country in North America to which she could lay claim, and to consider it as something more than a territory from which heartless trading companies could draw furs. The Catholic missionaries on the Lakes had for some years been reporting

[1] "Memoires des Commissaires du Roi," Paris, 1755, ii., pp. 40, 295, 320. The "Estat du Fort," etc., "Collection de Manuscrits," Quebec, 1884, i., p. 200, makes the chapel there a frame building, 8 paces by 6.

more and more definite intelligence of the great river in the West, which the Algonquin tribes called Missi sipi, great river; and which the five Iroquois nations styled Ohio, great and beautiful river. Though the French Government took no steps, individuals did. Robert Cavelier, who had assumed the style of de la Salle, brother of a Sulpitian priest at Montreal, had heard of this river through the Iroquois; the Sulpitians moved by missionary instinct resolved to seek it and win the tribes on its banks to Christianity. On the 6th of July, 1669, a little expedition set out from Montreal, La Salle with five canoes and the Sulpitians, Rev. Francis Dollier de Casson, priest, and René de Brehaut de Galinée, still in deacon's orders, with three canoes, guided by some Senecas who had wintered in Canada. Plodding along slowly they reached the chief Seneca town on the 12th of August, and there with Father Fremin's attendant as interpreter, they solicited from the Seneca Council an Illinois slave to guide them to his country. The sachems deferred a reply, but meanwhile the French were told on all sides that the route by land was long and dangerous, while the great river could easily be reached by way of Lake Erie. Abandoning the hope of reaching the river through the Seneca country they crossed the Niagara below the falls, and at a little village near the head of Lake Ontario obtained two western Indians for guides. Soon afterward they met Louis Jolliet descending from the copper district on Lake Superior, who on learning their object recommended the route by way of Green Bay and the Wisconsin. La Salle left the Sulpitians on the plea of illness and started for Montreal. Rev. Dollier de Casson and his companion proceeding westward, wintered on the northern shore of Lake Erie. Setting out in the spring they lost all their chapel equipment, so that Dollier de Casson was deprived of the consolation of saying

mass. On the 25th of May, they descried the palisade around the house and chapel of the Jesuit Fathers at Sault Ste. Marie with the cultivated fields near by. After enjoying the hospitality of Fathers Dablon and Marquette for a time at this mission the two Sulpitians returned to Montreal.[1]

La Salle, at some subsequent period, by way of Lake Erie reached the Illinois or some other affluent of the Mississippi, but made no report and made no claim, having failed to reach the main river.

The Jesuit missionaries, however, had not abandoned the subject. Talon, Intendant of Canada, recommended Louis Jolliet to Count Frontenac as one who was capable of undertaking an exploration which he deemed important for the interest of France. The French Government in Canada, at last resolved to send out an expedition of discovery. In November, 1672, Frontenac wrote to Colbert, the great prime minister of France: "I have deemed it expedient for the service to send the Sieur Jolliet to the country of the Maskoutens, to discover the South Sea (Pacific Ocean), and the great river called Mississippi, which is believed to empty into the gulf of California." One single man with a bark canoe was all the Provincial Government could afford; but Jolliet had evidently planned his course. Like the Sulpitians he proceeded to a Jesuit mission, to that of Father James Marquette, who had so long been planning a visit to the country of the Illinois, and who speaking no fewer than six Indian languages was admirably fitted for such an exploration. That missionary received permission or direction from his superiors to join Jolliet on his proposed expedition, and there are indications that the venerable Bishop Laval, to accredit

[1] "Voyage de MM. Dollier de Casson et de Galinée, 1669–70," Montreal, 1875.

him to the Spanish authorities whom he might encounter, made him his Vicar-General for the lands into which they were to penetrate.[1] Jolliet reached Michilimackinac on the 8th of December, 1672, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, and the pious missionary with whom he was to make the exploration, thenceforward made the Immaculate Conception the title of his discovery and mission. They spent the winter studying their projected route by way of Green Bay, acquiring from intelligent Indians all possible knowledge of the rivers they should meet, and the tribes they would encounter.

All this information they embodied on a sketch-map, both possessing no little topographical skill. On the 17th of May, 1673, Father Marquette and Jolliet with five men in two canoes set out, taking no provision but some Indian corn and some dried meat. Following the western shore of Lake Michigan, they entered Green Bay, and ascended Fox River, undeterred by the stories of the Indians who warned them of the peril of their undertaking. Guided by two Miamis whom they obtained at the Maskoutens' town, they made the portage to the Wisconsin, and then reciting a new devotion to the Blessed Virgin, they paddled down amid awful solitudes, shores untenanted by any human dwellers. Just one month from their setting out their canoes glided into the Mississippi, and the hearts of all swelled with exultant joy.

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[1] Father Marquette, though never Superior of the Ottawa missions, was Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec, and apparently in his quality as missionary to the Illinois, as his successors there, Allouez and Gravier also held this office, then the priests of the seminary of Quebec, and last of all, Rev. Peter Gibault. (Letter of Father Gravier to Bishop Laval.) The appointment may have been given when he set out to found his Illinois mission in 1674, but there is no apparent reason for conferring such a dignity on him then, and there was when he set out on his voyage.

The dream of Father Marquette's life was accomplished; he was on the great river of the West, to which he gave the name of the Immaculate Conception. On and on their canoes kept while they admired the game and birds, the fish in the river, the changing character of the shores. More than a week passed before they met the least indication of the presence of man. On the 25th they saw foot-prints on the western shore, and an Indian trail leading inland. The missionary and his fellow-explorer leaving the canoes followed it in silence. Three villages at last came in sight. Their hail brought out a motley group, and two old men advanced with calumets. When near enough to be heard Father Marquette asked who they were. The answer was: "We are Illinois." The missionary was at the towns of the nation he had for years yearned to visit. The friendly natives escorted them to a cabin, where another aged Indian welcomed them: "How beautiful is the sun, O Frenchman, when thou comest to visit us! All our town awaits thee and thou shalt enter all our cabins in peace."

These Illinois urged the missionary to stay and instruct them, warning him against the danger of descending the river, but they gave him a calumet and an Indian boy. He promised these Illinois of the Peoria and Moingona bands to return the next year and abide with them. Having announced the first gospel tidings to the tribe, the missionary with his associate was escorted to their canoes by the warriors. Past the Piesa, the painted rock which Indian superstition invested with terror and awe; past the turbid Missouri, pouring its vast tide into the Mississippi; past the unrecognized mouth of the Ohio, coming down from the land of the Senecas, the explorers glided along, impelled by the current and their paddles. At last the character of the country changed, canebrakes replaced the forest and prairie,

and swarms of mosquitoes hovered over land and water. After leaving the Illinois, they had encountered only one single Indian band, apparently stragglers from the East, who recognized the dress of the Catholic priest. To them he spoke of God and eternity. But as the canoes neared the Arkansas River, the Metchigameas on the western bank came out in battle array, a band of the Quappa confederation of Dakotas. Hemming in the French above and below, they filled the air with yells. The missionary held out his calumet of peace, and addressed them in every Indian language he knew. At last an old man answered him in Illinois. Then Father Marquette told of their desire to reach the sea and of his mission to teach the red man the ways of God. All hostile demonstrations ceased. The French were regaled and referred to the Arkansas, the next tribe below. This more friendly nation, then on the eastern shore, was soon reached. The explorers had solved the great question, and made it certain that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. The Jesuit Father had published the gospel as well as he could to the nations he had met, and opened the way to future missions. On the 17th of July they turned the bows of their canoes northward, and paddling sturdily against the current at last descried the mouth of the Illinois. On the way they met the Peorias, and Father Marquette spent three days with him, explaining in each cabin the fundamental truths of religion. That he made some impression we can see by the fact that as he was about to embark they brought him a dying child which he baptized, the first recorded administration of the sacrament on the banks of the great river.

The voyage of the priest has become historic. The Government, which sent his companion, Jolliet, seems to have comprehended less the value of the discovery to France than

the Church did the great field of labor which Providence had laid open to the zeal of her ministers.[1]

Ascending the Illinois River the missionary reached the town of the Kaskaskias, who extorted from him a promise to return and instruct them. A chief, with a band of warriors, escorted the party to Lake Michigan, and following its western bank they reached Green Bay in the closing days of September. While Father Marquette was thus exploring the territory stretching far away to the south, there had been strange scenes in the Ottawa missions. The Dakotas, who had so long been at war with the Algonquin tribes around Lake Superior, sent an embassy of ten leading men to Sault Sainte Marie to arrange a peace. The Chippewas, or Indians of the Sault, received them with hearty welcome, but some Crees and Missisakis resolved to kill them, and when the council was held a Cree contrived to slip in armed in spite of the precautions adopted. He struck a Dakota a deadly wound, and then the surviving Dakotas, believing themselves betrayed, turned upon the Indians nearest them, killing all they met. Many escaped, and the Dakotas barricaded the house, and with arms they found kept up a fire on those without till the building was set on fire. All were at last slain, with two of their women, while forty Algonquins were killed or wounded. The trading-house in which they met was burned to the ground, and the flames spread to the chapel and residence of the missionary, which was also destroyed. As their ambassadors were killed at the village of the Chippewas, that tribe, though not the assailants, were by Indian law responsible to the Dakotas. Dreading the resent-

[1] Marquette's Narrative is in French and in English in Shea, "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley," New York, 1852, pp. 3–52; his Life, pp. xli.–lxxx. "Relations Inédites," i., pp. 193–204; ii., pp. 239–329.

ment of that powerful nation they fled, and of the mission conducted by Father Druillettes naught remained but a deserted town and smoldering ashes. But the aged missionary clung to his flock, and after a time began to restore his chapel, aided by the Superior, Father Henry Nouvel, and a lay brother.[1]

After his return from his great voyage, Father Marquette was assigned to Green Bay, but having in 1674 obtained permission to undertake to establish a mission among the Kaskaskias, he set out in November with two companions, although he had been sick all the summer. The disease returned before he had reached the head of Lake Michigan, and he cabined for the winter at the portage of a river leading to the Illinois, generally regarded as the Chicago.[2] In the spring he made a novena in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, and feeling new strength set out in March 29, 1675, and in eleven days reached the town of the Kaskaskias, who received him as an angel. A chapel was soon reared, adorned with mats and furs; at the upper end the missionary draped it with hangings and pictures of Our Lady. After delivering his words and presents to the chiefs of the tribe, he preached to them, and then founded his mission by the celebration of the first mass in Illinois on Holy Thursday, 1675. After beginning his regular mission labors he found that his disease was assuming a more dangerous form, and wishing to die assisted by his brethren, he set out for Michilimackinac. His two good canoe-men took the missionary with all care to Lake Michigan, and embarking there plied their paddles, urging their canoe along the eastern shore. Convinced that he would

[1] "Relations Inédites," i., pp. 205–210; ii., pp. 3–8.

[2] Ibid., ii., pp. 23, 318.

not reach his old mission, Marquette instructed his companions how to assist him in his dying moments, and to bury him. One evening as they landed for the night, he told them he would die the next day; they put up a bark cabin as well as they could and placed the dying missionary in this wretched shelter. He heard the confessions of his men, and with great difficulty recited his breviary—an obligation which he always scrupulously performed. Then he sent them to rest. Some hours later he summoned them to his side, and taking off his crucifix asked them to hold it before his eyes. Rallying his strength to make a profession of faith, and thanking God for permitting him to die in the Society, a missionary, destitute of all things, he continued in prayer till his strength failed. Seeing him about to depart, his faithful attendants pronounced the names of Jesus and Mary, which he repeated several times, then sweetly expired, not far from midnight, May 19, 1675. His body was interred in the place he had selected, and the river which skirts it bears his name to this day; but some Ottawas in 1677 took up his remains, and placing the bones in a box of bark, carried them to the mission chapel at Michilimackinac. The remains were received with solemnity by Father Henry Nouvel and Father Pierson, and after a funeral service, the box was placed in a little vault in the middle of the church, "where," wrote Father Dablon, "he reposes as the guardian angel of our Ottawa missions." His piety, zeal, and virtues had in life caused him to be regarded as a saint, and the repute increased after his holy death. Indian and white came to pray over the remains of one whom all believed to be enjoying the beatific vision, and pleading for those whose salvation had been dearer to him than life. His devotion to the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin was remarkable. On his great voyage he recited with his companions a chaplet he

had composed to honor that mystery; he gave the name of the Immaculate Conception to the Mississippi, and to the mission among the Kaskaskias, which has never lost it. Providence has maintained his honor, for a city has been named after him, and has been made by the Pope a bishop's see.[1] He died at the early age of 38, having borne the robe of Saint Ignatius for twenty-one years.

The church in which he was laid away was burned in 1700, when the mission was abandoned. For years the very site was unknown, but was finally discovered in 1877, by Rev. Edward Jacker, then missionary at Pointe Saint Ignace. Excavations inside the foundation-walls, about the centre in front of the altar revealed a decaying bark box containing pieces of human bones. To his mind and to those of students generally, there was little doubt that remains thus peculiarly committed to the earth were those of Father James Marquette, of Laon, interred there in precisely that form in 1677. The learned priest, thoroughly versed in

SITE OF FATHER MARQUETTE'S CHAPEL AND GRAVE, AT POINTE SAINT IGNACE, MICH., IDENTIFIED AND ENCLOSED BY V. REV. E. JACKER.

[1] "Relations Inédites," ii., pp. 21–33, 290–330; "Relation," 1673–9, pp. 100–120; Shea, "Discovery of the Mississippi Valley," pp. 53–66, 258–264.

all the early history of the missions, was not a man to be hasty in conclusions. He surrounded the spot once consecrated to religion with a fence to preserve it from neglect.[1]

The last work of Father Marquette, the mission he founded at Kaskaskia, was zealously taken up by Father Allouez, who set out from Green Bay, in October, 1676, but winter set in so suddenly that he could not proceed till February. When he reached Kaskaskia, at the close of April, he found not only that band, but several others of the Illinois nation. Here he planted a cross and began his labors, which he renewed the following year.[2]

The great discovery made by Jolliet and Father Marquette did not at first prompt the French Government to any scheme for planting colonies to cultivate the rich lands of the Mississippi Valley, or develop its mineral wealth. A plan of settlement proposed by Jolliet was rejected. The attitude of the English in New York began, however, to excite alarm, but their action was regarded as a menace to the French fur trade rather than a step toward the destruction of French power in America. The Count de Frontenac, governor of Canada, went up to Lake Ontario, and at a spot near the present Kingston, called by the Iroquois Cataracouy, laid in July, 1673, the foundation of a fort to bear his name. The engineers traced the fort, and the soldiers soon threw up earthworks and stockades. France had planted her first fort on the lakes. The command of this outpost was soon given to La Salle. He was full of projects for building up his fortunes in the West, not by colonization and agriculture, but by controlling the fur trade. Many

[1] "Catholic World," xxvi., p. 267. Our illustration shows the site of the old chapel and the Rev. Mr. Jacker near it.

[2] "Relations Inédites," pp. 306–317; "Relation," 1673–9, p. 121; Shea, "Discovery of the Mississippi," pp. 67–77.

members of his family and others in France entered into his schemes, and he obtained a grant of Fort Frontenac, and a patent to explore the West with a monopoly of trade. Frontenac suggested that a fort should be established at Niagara, and a vessel built on Lake Erie.[1]

All this La Salle undertook to accomplish. After rebuilding Fort Frontenac with stone, he prepared to conduct an expedition to the West. The grandiloquence with which he announced his projects led to the wildest hopes of results. A sycophant of Frontenac, he was in full harmony with that governor's hostility to the Bishop, secular clergy, and the Jesuits. He solicited Recollect Fathers as chaplains of his posts and expeditions. There were at the moment in Canada several Flemish Recollects whom Louis XIV. had torn from their convents in territory he had wrested from Spain, and forced to annex themselves to a French province. The Superiors there gladly sent their unsolicited recruits to Canada, and the Superior of their order at Quebec having no field to employ them in the colony, gladly assigned a large number of them to La Salle. Of these sons of St. Francis the Superior was the aged Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, last scion of an old Burgundian house, and under him were Fathers Zenobius Membré, Louis Hennepin, Luke Buisson, and Melithon Watteaux.

The Sieur de la Motte in a brigantine accompanied by Father Hennepin reached the outlet of Niagara River, December 6, 1673, and the Recollect Father chanted the Te Deum in thanksgiving. Leaving their vessel there they

[1] Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, "New York Col. Doc.," ix., p. 121. In this very dispatch he announced that a Dutch frigate, "The Flying Horse," had captured Fort Pentagoet. The only spot within our present limits where there was a chapel for French Catholics, had thus been temporarily lost.

went in canoes to the Mountain Ridge, where a rock still bears Hennepin's name. Climbing the heights of Lewiston, they came in sight of the mighty cataract, where the massed waters of the upper lakes rushing through the narrow channel, plunge down what seemed to their astounded eyes as many hundreds of feet. Father Hennepin gave the first published description of this wonder of the Western world.

Looking for suitable land to settle on, they reached Chippewa Creek, where they slept, and returning the next morning, Father Hennepin offered the first mass on the Niagara, where La Motte and his men were gathered to build a fort at the mouth of the river.[1] The Indians showed such hostility to the fort that it was abandoned, and La Motte began a house and stockade at the Great Rock on the east side, which he called Fort de Conty. Here Father Hennepin at once began to erect a bark house and chapel.[2]

Returning to Fort Frontenac after blessing the "Griffin," the first vessel on Lake Erie, which La Salle had built above the falls, Father Hennepin came up again with the Superior of the mission, Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, and Father Zenobius Membré, and Melithon Watteaux. La Salle made a grant of land at Niagara to the Recollect Fathers for a residence and cemetery, May 27, 1679, and this was the first Catholic Church property in the present State of New York. When the "Griffin" sailed, Father Melithon Watteaux remained in the palisaded house at Niagara as chaplain, and he ranks as the first Catholic priest appointed to minister to whites in New York.[3]

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[1] Hennepin, "Relation of Louisiana," p. 68.

[2] Ibid., p. 74. "Tonty in Margry," i., p. 576. The projected fort was soon destroyed by fire. Ibid., ii., p. 12.

[3] Le Clercq, "Establishment of the Faith," ii., p. 112; Hennepin, "Nouvelle Découverte," p. 108.

La Salle's party on his barque, the "Griffin," reached Michilimakinac, where at Pointe Saint Ignace, the Jesuit Fathers had their mission church, and minor chapels for the Hurons and Ottawas. After some stay here the expedition entered Green Bay, whence La Salle sent the vessel back to Niagara with a load of furs, but it never reached its port, and the fate of the first vessel which plowed the waters of the upper lakes is involved in mystery. La Salle then kept on in canoes along the shore of Lake Michigan, his party consisting of himself, the three Franciscan Fathers, and ten other persons.

Reaching the mouth of St. Joseph's River, La Salle, during the month of November, threw up a rude fort, and in it the Recollect Fathers built a bark cabin, the first Catholic church in the lower peninsula of Michigan. It was apparently dedicated to Saint Anthony of Padua, as the commander on the voyage had promised to dedicate the first chapel to that saint.[1] Here the three priests officiated for the party, swelled by Tonty's detachment, preaching on Sundays and holidays.

Setting out from this post in December by toilsome travel and portage, La Salle reached the country of the Illinois Indians, and throwing up a little fort, began to build a vessel in which to descend the Mississippi. Fort Crêvecœur was a little below the present episcopal city of Peoria. Upon the arrival of the party there, Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, with his fellow-priests, Fathers Zenobius Membré and Louis Hennepin, raised a cabin as a chapel for the French and for the Illinois Indians. This little chapel was of boards, but they were unable to say mass, their little stock of wine, made

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[1] Hennepin, "Description of Louisiana," pp. 96, 133, 177; Le Clercq, "Establishment of the Faith," ii., pp. 114, 117, 130.

from wild grapes gathered on the shores of Lake Michigan, having failed them. The services in the chapel consisted only of singing vespers and occasional sermons after morning prayers.

La Salle hearing no tidings of his barque, which was to have brought his supplies, set out for Forts Niagara and Frontenac, having first dispatched Father Hennepin, with two of his men, in a canoe to ascend the Mississippi River. Leaving his two fellow-religious at Fort Crêvecœur, this Franciscan descended the Illinois River to its mouth, and after being a month on the Mississippi, fell in April into the hands of a large war party of Sioux, who carried him and his companions up to their country, where he saw and named the Falls of Saint Anthony. Held captive for some months, Father Hennepin and his companions were rescued by Daniel Greysolon du Lhut, who, after wintering in the Sioux country, returned for further exploration. With this protection Father Hennepin reached Green Bay by way of the Wisconsin River,[1] having been the first to announce the gospel in the land of the Dakotas.

The party left at Fort Crêvecœur had meanwhile had a dangerous and tragic experience. Devoting himself as aid to his Superior in instructing the Illinois, Father Membré took up his residence in the cabin of the chief, Oumahouha, to whom La Salle had made presents to insure his good treatment of the missionary; but the slow progress he made in the language and the brutal habits of the Indians effectually discouraged him. Gradually, however, he acquired some knowledge of the language and began to instruct the people, finding it difficult to make any impression on the minds of these Indians. Tonty, who was left in command

[1] Hennepin, "Description of Louisiana," pp. 192–259.

of the fort, was soon deserted by most of his men, and the aged Father de la Ribourde was adopted by Asapista, an Illinois chief. When the clusters of grapes, carefully watched by the missionaries, began to ripen in the summer sun, they pressed them, and enjoyed the consolation of offering the holy sacrifice in their chapel, the second Catholic shrine in Illinois. They followed the Indians in their summer hunts and Father Membré visited the Miamis, but the fruit of their labors was not encouraging; they baptized some dying children and adults, but conferred the sacrament of regeneration on only two adults in health, in whom they found, as they supposed, solidity and a spirit of perseverance, yet were distressed to see one of these die in the hands of the medicine-men. In September the Illinois were attacked by an Iroquois army and fled. Tonty and the missionaries escaped narrowly, and seeing no alternative, set out to reach Green Bay in a wretched bark canoe, without any provisions. The next day an accident to the canoe compelled them to land; while Tonty and Father Membré were busy repairing the damage, Father Gabriel de la Ribourde retired to the shade of a neighboring grove to recite the office of the day in his Breviary. When toward evening they sought the venerable priest, no trace of him could be found. Three Kickapoos had come upon him, and although they recognized him as a Frenchman and a missionary, they killed him and threw his body into a hole, carrying off all he had, even his breviary and diurnal. These subsequently fell into the hands of a Jesuit missioner.

Father Gabriel de la Ribourde was the last of a noble family in Burgundy who gave up all to enter the Order of Saint Francis. After being master of novices at Bethune, he came to Canada in 1670, and was the first Superior of the restored Recollect mission in Canada. He was in his seventieth year

when he fell by the hands of the prowling savages September 9, 1680.[1]

After enduring great hardships, want, and illness, Father Membré reached the Jesuit mission at Green Bay, and he says that he could not sufficiently acknowledge the charity which the Fathers there displayed to him and his companions. Father Enjalran then accompanied him to Michilimakinac, whither Father Hennepin had preceded them. He had recovered some of their vestments at Green Bay, where he, too, was able to say mass, after which he wintered at Michilimakinac with Father Pierson.

FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER JOHN ENJALRAN.

When La Salle set out in November, 1681, to descend the Mississippi, Father Zenobius Membré bore him company, and his account of the canoe voyage is preserved. He planted the cross at the Quappa town and at the mouth of the Mississippi, endeavoring to announce, as well as he could, the great truths of religion to the tribes he met on the way. It was his privilege to intone the Vexilla Regis and the Te Deum when they reached the Gulf of Mexico. This amiable religious returned with La Salle to Europe by the way of Canada, and the Recollect mission in the Mississippi Valley came to a close. "All we have done," says Father Membré, "has been to see the state of these nations, and to open the way to the gospel and to missionaries, having baptized only two in-

[1] Le Clercq, "Establishment of the Faith," ii., pp. 128–157; Letter of La Salle in Margry, "Découvertes et Etablissements des Français," Paris, 1877, ii., p. 124. "Relation de Henri de Tonty," ibid., i., p. 588; Hennepin, "Description de la Louisiane," Paris, 1683; New York, 1880, pp. 266–9.

fants, whom I saw at the point of death, and who, in fact, died in our presence." [1]

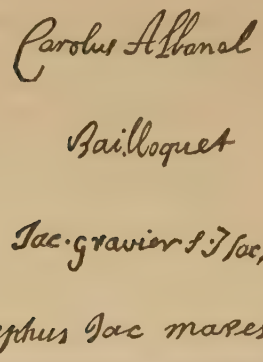
There is reason to believe, however, that the Recollects regarded the Mississippi Valley as a field assigned to them, and the whole influence of Count de Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, supported by the French Government, was given to the Recollects and directed against the bishop and his secular clergy, and against the Jesuits who shared the views of the bishop. La Salle was in ardent sympathy with Frontenac, and his papers and those of his friends show the most virulent hatred of the Jesuits. The venerable Father Allouez, who had labored so long and fruitfully in the northwest, was a special object of La Salle's detestation, and he was ready to lay any crime to the missionary's charge.

In this position of affairs the French Government was induced to ask the Holy See to erect one or more Vicariates-Apostolic in the Mississippi Valley, and the hopes of a successful mission appeared to the Propaganda so well founded that Vicariates were actually established. But when information of this step reached Bishop Saint Vallier at Quebec, he forwarded to Paris and Rome a strong protest against the dismemberment of his diocese, without his knowledge or consent. He claimed the valley of the Mississippi as having been discovered by Father Marquette, a priest of his diocese, and Louis Jolliet, a pupil of his Seminary. He claimed that Father Marquette had preached to the nations on that river and baptized Indians there more than twelve years before. Louis XIV. referred the matter to three commissioners, the Archbishop of Paris, the King's Confessor, and the Marquis de Seignelay, and on their report he solicited from the Holy See a revocation of the Vicariates which had been established.[2]

[1] Le Clercq, "Establishment of the Faith," ii., p. 194.

[2] "Memoire pour faire connaitre au Roy que tous les missionnaires de

The Recollect Fathers had, however, withdrawn from the West, and the whole care of the missions and of the only French post, Fort Saint Louis, established by La Salle at Starved Rock, on the Illinois River, near the Big Vermillion, devolved on the Jesuits. The missionaries of that order were the veteran Allouez, who labored among the Miamis, visiting Fort Saint Louis from time to time; Henry Nouvel and Enjalran at Green Bay; Albanel, Bailloquet, James Gravier, Claude Aveneau, Stephen de Carheil and Nicolas Potier; while John Joseph Marest, of a family to be long connected with the West, was assigned to a projected mission among the Sioux.[1]



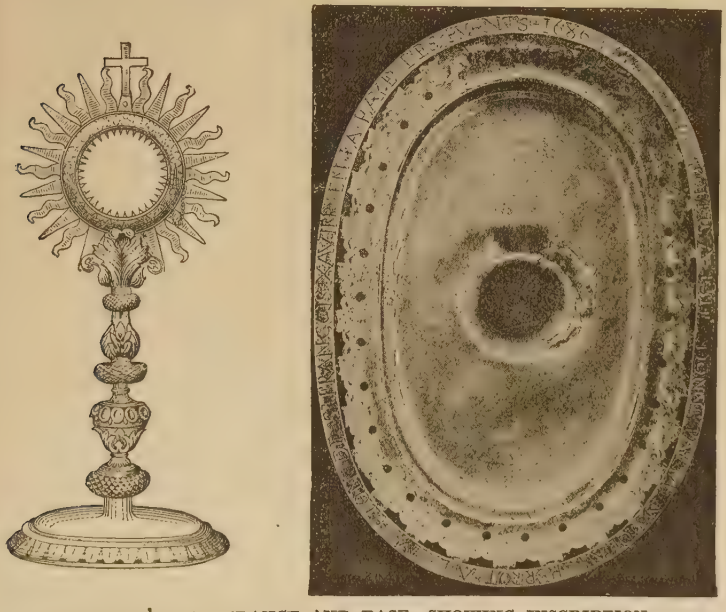
FAC-SIMILES OF THE SIGNATURES OF FATHERS ALBANEL, BAILLOQUET, GRAVIER, AND MAREST.

Nicholas Perrot, one of the most capable and honest of the French pioneers of the West, a man whose solid services contrast nobly with the great vaporings and petty results of La Salle, was a steady friend of the Catholic development of

la Nouvelle France y doivent travailler sons la dépendance de l'Evêque de Québec," by Bishop St. Vallier. The date must be about 1685. See, too, Letter of the Bishop, August 20, 1688. Margry, iii., p. 579. It would be interesting to ascertain the names and limits of these Vicariates, the first distinct organization in this country, but these details cannot yet be traced in the archives of the Propaganda.

[1] "New York Col. Documents," ix., p. 418; Charlevoix, "History of New France," Catalogue S. J., 1688; Baugy, "Journal d'une Expedition contre les Iroquois en 1687," Paris, 1883, p. 166; F. Henri Nouvel to De la Barre, April 23, 1684, in Margry, ii., p. 344.

the West, and that he was especially a benefactor of the Church at Green Bay is attested by one of the most interesting relics preserved in the country. This is a silver monstrance, now in the possession of the Bishop of Green Bay, which bears an inscription telling when and by whom it was given. Though buried for generations on the site of the old chapel at the Rapide des Pères, it is so well preserved that



PERROT'S MONSTRANCE AND BASE, SHOWING INSCRIPTION.

its original beauty can be seen. On the base is the inscription: "✠ Ce soleil a été donné par M. Nicolas Perrot à la mission de St. François Xavier en la Baye des Puants. ✠ 1686." "This ostensorium was given to the mission of St. Francis Xavier at Green Bay by Nicolas Perrot, 1686." [1]

[1] A writer, who imbibed from La Salle and Margry a rooted prejudice against the Jesuits, we regret to say, has thrown on this noble

The missionaries were in early times the only representatives of civilized authority on the frontier, and alone exercised control over the bushlopers and independent fur-traders. Under the ban of the law, as most of them were, for the French authorities in Canada favored only trading companies and monopolists, these irregular traders, many of them born in the country and known from boyhood to the mission priests, found in them monitors in their waywardness, consolers in sickness and affliction, encouragers in all that tended to keep them within the laws of moral and civilized life. Frequently aided by them in their long journeys, and relieved by their aid, the missionaries naturally sympathized with these young men of Canadian birth, and as naturally were, at times, reproached by those who grasped at the monopoly of the fur trade on the lakes.[1]

De la Barre, when Governor of Canada, was as favorable to the missionaries as Frontenac and his sycophant La Salle had been hostile. In his instructions to La Durantaye, an officer sent West in 1683, he says: "As the Rev. Jesuit Fathers are the best informed as to the manner of treating with

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explorer the odium of attempting to poison La Salle. But Nicolas Perrot, who was Captain of the Cote de Bécancour in 1670, and who had acted as the representative of the French Government in the West, could not be the man who was valet to La Salle. Another person of the name was a hired servant to the Sulpitians in 1667 (Faillon, iii., p. 220), and a workman at Fort Frontenac (Margry). He is, in all probability, the valet of La Salle.

[1] In the constant flings at them in the dispatches of Frontenac and the writings of La Salle, this should be borne in mind. Any missionary, Catholic or Protestant, isolated on the frontier would be similarly influenced. Father Marquette's unfinished journal gives us a kind of photograph of life on the lakes in those days, and the punning words that close it are a kind of apology for the coureurs de bois. "Si les François ont des robbes de ce pays icy, ils ne les desrobbent pas, tant les fatigues sont grands pour les en tirer."

the Indians, and the most zealous for Christianity, he will place confidence in them, will afford them all satisfaction in his power, and treat them as persons for whom I entertain a profound respect and a great esteem."

Tonty, while faithful to La Salle, did not share the prejudices of his commander, and not only availed himself of the services of the Jesuit Fathers at Fort St. Louis, but sought to have them in the territory on the Arkansas granted him by La Salle, where he gave them land for a chapel and a mission.

The enterprises of La Salle, involving a monopoly of trade, had excited great discontent in Canada and the West, and his overbearing manner and violence had created him many enemies. The Iroquois saw with no favorable eye his forts at Catarocouy, Niagara, and on the Illinois. They were a constant menace to the existence and trade of the Five Nations. In 1683 a Seneca force was sent against Fort Saint Louis in Illinois, plundering French traders on the way. They expected to take the post by surprise, but the Chevalier Baugy and Tonty had been warned, and repulsed the Iroquois with loss.[1] The brave Breton, de la Durantaye, hearing of the danger of the fort, had set out for its relief, accompanied by an Indian force, and the veteran Father Allouez, who, rising above all personal motives, was ready to endure toil and danger to save the lives and property of La Salle's colony on the Illinois.[2]

Father Claude Allouez, the founder of Catholicity in the West, closed his long labors by a happy death on the 27th or 28th of August, 1689, in the seventy-sixth year of his age,

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[1] Margry, ii., pp. 338, 344; Charlevoix, "History of New France," iii., p. 244; "N. Y. Col. Doc.," ix., p. 239; "Mercure Galant," August, 1685, pp. 340–350.

[2] Tonty in Margry, p. 22.

having been nearly thirty years on the missions around Lake Superior and Lake Michigan, which he had created.[1]

The Iroquois had thus openly made war on the French, and de la Barre prepared to invade their territory with a force sufficient to punish their perfidy. The other cantons renewed their treaties with the French, so that de la Barre was able to throw his whole army on the Senecas.

The missionaries in that nation were no longer safe; Fathers Fremin and Pierron returned to Canada, followed in 1683 by Father Garnier; the Cayuga chiefs plundered Father de Carheil, and in 1684 drove him from the canton. The missionaries on the Mohawk withdrew, and Father Milet, leaving Oneida, proceeded to the camp of de la Barre at Hungry Bay. The Catholic missions among the Five Nations were suspended, except at Onondaga, where the two brothers in blood and religion, Fathers John and James de Lamberville, still maintained their chapel.

De la Barre was induced by the other cantons to accept vague promises made on behalf of the Senecas, with whom he made peace and returned to Canada. The Senecas, however, neglected to carry out the treaty on their side, and after a general council at Albany, a force was sent by the Five Nations against the Ottawas in Michigan.

The Marquis de Denonville, who had arrived as Governor of Canada, made all preparations for a vigorous campaign. Father John de Lamberville went down to Canada to confer with him, leaving his brother alone at Onondaga. Colonel

[1] He was born at Saint Didier en Forest, and studied at the College of Puy en Velay, where he was under the direction of Saint Francis Regis. Entering the Society of Jesus with one of his brothers, he was sent to Canada in 1658. His first labors were near Quebec, but August 8, 1665, he left Three Rivers for his great Western mission. To his merit there is uniform testimony, and the only dissonant voice is that of La Salle. Margry, "Découvertes et Etablissements des Français," i., pp. 59–64.

Dongan, Governor of New York, was inciting the Iroquois against the French and endeavored to obtain possession of Father James de Lamberville; but he remained, and soon joined by his brother, they continued their mission amid a thousand dangers. In 1686 the younger Father was recalled, and when Denonville was ready to take the field, Father John de Lamberville was sent to Onondaga, mainly to cover his designs. To prevent knowledge of his movements reaching the Indians, the governor arrested all the Iroquois in the colony, entrapping those living near Fort Catarocouy, and even treating as prisoners some who assumed to be ambassadors from the cantons. These prisoners were sent to France to be treated as galley-slaves.

The missionary stood alone at Onondaga. In the eyes of the Indians he was responsible for the apparently treacherous acts of the governor, whose envoy he had been. But Teiorhensere was respected for his virtues. The sachems of Onondaga addressed him in noble words. They knew the honesty of his heart too well to believe him capable of duplicity, but the young braves would hold him responsible. "It is not safe for thee to remain here. All, perhaps, will not render thee the justice that we do, and when once our young men have sung the war song . . . . they will hearken only to their fury, from which it would be no longer in our power to rescue thee." They gave him guides and a guard, insisting that he should depart at once, and led by devious paths the missionary, after closing the last Catholic chapel in the land of the Five Nations, reached his countrymen in safety.

The missions of the Society of Jesus among the five Iroquois nations begun with the tortures of the saintly Isaac Jogues, and maintained amid all disheartening opposition for forty years, closed virtually with the noble retirement of Father John de Lamberville. After this the Catholics in

the cantons could depend only on occasional visits of a priest, and many gradually joined the village at Sault Saint Louis, or that under the Sulpitians on the island of Montreal.

Denonville in his expedition against the Senecas, had a force of western Indians, who came attended by Father Enjalran. In the action with the Senecas at Gannagaro (Boughton's Hill), this missionary laboring among his Indians received a severe and dangerous wound.

After ravaging the Seneca towns, Denonville erected a fort at Niagara and garrisoned it. The chapel here was the next shrine of Catholicity. La Salle's block-house and Father Melithon's chapel within it had been burned by the Senecas twelve years before. Now within the stockade were some eight cabins, one set apart for the priest, and another with double door and three small windows was evidently the chapel. Here the Chevalier de la Motthe was left with a garrison of a hundred men, but the provisions furnished were so unfit, that they bred disease that swept off most of the French, including the commander.[1] Father John de Lamberville, who had gone there to minister to the garrison, was stricken down with the disease, and in 1687 the surviv-

INSCRIPTION ON FATHER MILET'S CROSS AT NIAGARA.

ors were discovered and rescued by some Miamis.[2] Father Milet accompanied the next party sent, and on Good Friday, 1688, he erected and blessed a large wooden cross in the cen-

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[1] "New York Doc. Hist.," i., p. 168.

[2] Charlevoix, "History of New France," iii., pp. 290–1, 303, and authorities cited.

tre of the square with the inscription, "Christ reigneth, conquereth, commandeth."

But on the 15th of September, the palisades were demolished, and the French withdrew. The last altar reared by the Catholic priests of France on the soil of New York was thus for a time abandoned. The labors of pioneers and missionaries from the days of Champlain, thrilling with their heroic effort had failed to plant a permanent settlement or chapel on the soil. The souls won from heathenism were numbered with the anointed dead, or in Catholic villages on the banks of the Saint Lawrence attested the thoroughness of the Christian teaching given.

In 1690 only one Catholic missionary was in the land of the Iroquois. He was there as the first had been, a prisoner. Father Milet after the evacuation of Niagara was stationed at Catarokouy, where his knowledge of the Iroquois character and language was reckoned upon as a means of drawing the cantons to peace. In June, 1689, a few Onondagas approached the fort, and declaring that peace had been made at Montreal, asked for a surgeon and priest to attend some of their sick. Father Milet with St. Amand, a physician, went out, but found themselves prisoners. The missionary was pinioned, deprived of his breviary, and all he had on him. Manchot, an Oneida chief, however, told him that he and his old Oneida converts would save his life. Yet he was soon stripped and subjected to ill usage, until he was given up to the Oneidas, who took him bound, but uninjured, to their canton. There his old Christian converts prevented any injury being done to him, but he was held as a prisoner.[1]

In the eastern portions of the country there seemed a more favorable prospect. But even after the restoration of

[1] "Lettre du père Pierre Milet à quelques Missionnaires du Canada," Onneiout, 1691.

Pentagoet by treaty, difficulties raised by Colonel Temple delayed its execution. Not till the 5th of August, 1670, was Pentagoet actually surrendered to the Chevalier de Grande-Fontaine. The French sent to garrison the post, and the few settlers who had remained during English rule, were the only Catholics of European origin under the French flag in the land now embraced in the United States.

The chapel once served by the Capuchin Fathers was restored to the Catholic worship. It is described as "a chapel of about six paces long and four paces broad, covered with shingles, and built upon a terrace; it was surmounted by a belfry containing a small bell weighing about eighteen pounds."[1] This was the only church in the only French post on our soil at that time. When France recovered Acadia we trace the existence of only one priest in the province, the Franciscan, Laurence Molin, who seems to have visited all the stations, and drawn up a census, so that he probably officiated in this chapel for the little garrison and the handful of French settlers. But the lone settlement did not grow, though the Baron de Saint Castin, ensign of Grande-Fontaine, Governor of Acadia, or his successor, Chambly, labored earnestly for years to develop the resources of the post and district soon known as the parish of the Holy Family.[2]

The people of New England, after King Philip's war, looked with suspicion and hostility on all Indians, even those who had been gathered in villages for instruction by men

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[1] Morcau, "Histoire de l'Acadie Françoise," Paris, 1873, p. 275. Some Recollects followed, and then four Penitents of Nazareth were sent. "Collection de Manuscrits," Quebec, 1883, i., p. 395. "Centennial Celebration at Bangor," p. 24.

[2] Pentagoet was taken by a Dutch frigate in 1674. In 1688 the plundering English discovered a chapel in St. Castin's house.

like Eliot. Many bands, in consequence, struck into the forests, and sought safer and more congenial homes with kindred tribes near the Saint Lawrence.[1] Thus in 1676 the Sokokis, Indians of Saco, settled near Three Rivers, where the Catholic missionaries immediately undertook their instruction in religion, and so many of the Abnakis from the Kennebec clustered around the old Algonquin mission chapel at Sillery, that it became an Abnaki mission. About the same time Father Morain was laboring among a band of Gaspesians and Etchemins who had wandered inland to the Riviere du Loup on the borders of Maine.[2] To revive religion in Acadia, Bishop Laval, in 1684, sent to that part of his diocese a zealous secular priest, Louis P. Thury, who labored there to the close of his useful life.[3] Three years later he had taken up his residence at Pentagoet, and the holy sacrifice was again offered in the chapel of the French frontier.[4] Father James Bigot, who after consolidating the Abnaki mission at Sillery, had transferred it to Saint François de Sales on the Chaudiere in 1685, visited the country near Pentagoet in 1687, to lay the foundation of a church among the Indians.[5]

FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER JACQUES BIGOT.

The English in that part of the country were already, by plundering the French and insulting missionaries who fell

[1] "New York Doc. Hist.," i., p. 169.

[2] "Relation," 1676–7, p. 107; "Relations Inédites," ii., pp. 138–159.

[3] Bishop St. Valier, "Estat Present de l'Eglise," Quebec, 1857, p. 12.

[4] Cardinal Taschereau, "Memoire sur les Missions de l'Acadie."

[5] Bigot, "Journal de ce qui s'est passé dans la Mission Abnaquise depuis la feste de Noel, 1683, jusqu' au 6 Octobre, 1684," New York, 1857; "Lettre du père Jacques Bigot, écrite au mois de Juillet, 1685," New York, 1858; Bishop St. Valier, "Estat Present," p. 68; Denonville in Charlevoix, "History of New France," iii., p. 308.

into their hands, provoking hostilities. When the war began the Catholic Indians were ready to meet their old enemies on the field. The Indians of Rev. Mr. Thury's mission, he tells us, numbering nearly a hundred warriors, almost all went to confession before setting out against Fort Pemaquid; and while the force was absent their wives and children approached the holy tribunal to lift up clean hands to God, and the women kept up a perpetual recitation of the Rosary from early morn to night to ask God, through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, to show them His favor and protection during this war.[1]

For a brief term of two years regular and secular priests of France established a chapel and exercised the ministry in a far distant portion of the country, with independent sanction from the Congregation "de Propagande Fide" at Rome and the Archbishop of Rouen, who still clung to his old jurisdiction beyond the Atlantic.

When La Salle had continued the exploration of the Mississippi, begun by Jolliet and Marquette, and established the fact that no impediment to navigation existed, but that a vessel might sail from the mouth of the Illinois to Dieppe or Rochelle, he formed vague plans of trade in buffalo robes, but seems to have entertained no definite project of colonizing the valley of the great river. When he went to France his mind was filled with projects for collecting a vast Indian force with which to cross the country from the Mississippi to the Mexican frontier and capture the rich mining districts in Mexico, of which Santa Barbara was popularly supposed to be the real centre. In Paris he met Peñalosa, once Governor of New Mexico, who had taken refuge in France,

[1] Lettres de M. Thury, "Collection de Manuscrits," Quebec, 1883, pp. 464–5, 477.

where to curry favor with the Government he prepared a narrative of an expedition to the Mississippi, which he pretended to have made from Santa Fé. He put La Salle's schemes into practical form, and proposed that an expedition should be sent to Texas, whence the mines could be easily reached.[1]

The Government was deceived. La Salle was taken into favor, and was sent out to prepare the way for a large expedition under Peñalosa. The real object of the expedition was of course kept secret, and La Salle's object was ostensibly the mouth of the Mississippi, which he had discovered, and where he was to begin a settlement. A vessel was given to him, with authority to enlist soldiers among the rabble of Paris, and the "Joli," a vessel of the French Navy, commanded by Captain Beaujeu, was placed at his disposal, and subject to his orders till his expedition reached its destination. The expedition left France in July, 1684.

After taking in some freebooters in the West Indies, La Salle entered the Gulf of Mexico, and passing the mouth of the Mississippi coasted along the Texan shore for a suitable port. He finally fixed on Passo Cavallo, to which he returned. One vessel entered the bay, the other was run ashore by accident or design. Here the object of the expedition was made known, and the plan of an attack on the Spanish settlements was revealed.[2]

Several priests had accompanied the expedition. The Recollect Father, Zenobius Membré, who had accompanied La Salle to Illinois, and subsequently down the Mississippi,

[1] Shea, "Peñalosa," New York, 1882; Duro, "Peñalosa," Madrid, 1882.

[2] Joutel, "Journal Historique," Paris, 1713; Cavelier, "Relation," New York, 1858; Margry, "Etablissements et Découvertes," ii., pp. 485–606; Le Clercq, "Establishment of the Faith," New York, 1881, pp. 199–283.

was one. He was accompanied by Fathers Anastasius Douay and Maximus Le Clercq of the same order. These Fathers had obtained from the Propaganda special powers establishing a mission of their order. There were besides the Rev. John Cavelier, brother of La Salle, a Sulpitian, Rev. Messrs. Chefdeville and D'esmanville of the same community. They had obtained faculties from the Archbishop of Rouen, who, in granting them, alleged as a ground for his action that Quebec was too remote from their destination to justify application to the bishop of that see.[1]

When Rev. Mr. D'esmanville learned the real object of the expedition he declared his intention to return to France. "He had come," he said, "to war against demons, not against Christians," and he sailed back with Beaujeu, who, having fulfilled the task imposed upon him, hoisted his sail for Europe.[2]

La Salle, entering Espiritu Santo Bay in January, 1685, threw up a fort on the spot subsequently occupied by the Bahia mission. From this point he made excursions to sound the native tribes, and formed an alliance with the Cénis or Asinais, evidently awaiting all the while the arrival of the great expedition under Peñalosa, which never came. Fear of capture by the Spaniards must have prevented his venturing into the gulf with his remaining vessel, and at last, apparently convinced that his government had abandoned him, he set out from his fort, which he had named St. Louis, with a party, intending to reach the Mississippi overland and return with such force as he could gather. In the fort he left about twenty persons under Barbier, with Fathers Membré and Maximus Le Clercq, and the Sulpitian, Rev. Mr. Chefdeville.

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[1] See "Faculties," in Le Clercq, ii., p. 196; Margry, ii., p. 475.

[2] D'esmanville, in Margry, ii., pp. 510–517.

He was accompanied on his march by his brother, Rev. Mr. Cavelier, and Father Anastasius Douay. For two years these five priests had offered the holy sacrifice in a chapel constructed in the fort, and administered the sacraments. There were marriages and baptisms, the sick to console with religious rites, and the dead for whom to offer the mass of requiem. Rev. Mr. Cavelier and Father Anastasius, after the murder of La Salle by his own men, reached a French post on the Arkansas, and by way of Illinois returned to Canada and France.[1]

How long the party at the fort remained unmolested is not definitely known, but they were nearly all finally cut off by the Indians. That this was the fate of the Recollect Fathers and Rev. Mr. Chefdeville was positively asserted by two young Frenchmen named Talon, who were rescued by the Spaniards and by Francisco Martinez, afterward Sergeant Major at Pensacola, who in Texas obtained the chalices and breviaries of the murdered priests from the Indians.[2]

A Spanish expedition, sent to break up the French settlement, found only charred ruins and the unburied bones of the unfortunate remnant of La Salle's great force.[3]

Sainte Croix Island, the Falls of Saint Anthony, and Fort Saint Louis in Texas are the three extreme points in our land marking the limits of the territory through which the clergy of France, under the Bishops of Rouen and Quebec, had, in less than fourscore years and ten, carried the ministry of the Catholic Church, offering its solemn sacrifice, announcing the word of God to civilized and unreclaimed men, spending strength and health and life's blood in the cause of

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[1] Joutel, "Journal Historique," p. 329.

[2] Letter of d'Iberville, Rochelle, May 3, 1704.

[3] Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," pp. 294–6; Smith, "Coleccion," p. 25.

religion, from the fierce ocean tide of Fundy, the thunderous roar of Niagara, the copper-lined shores of Superior, and the bison plains of the Mississippi Valley to the gulf shore of Texas, while Protestantism had not yet ventured to proclaim its views or call men to prayer at the foot of the Alleghanies.

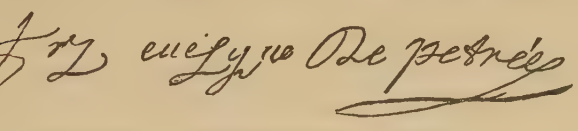
Meanwhile the Bishopric of Quebec had seen its changes. The venerable Laval had, soon after the erection of the See, exerted himself to give existence to the chapter instituted by the bulls, but delays ensued, and he finally visited Europe. There failing health and increasing difficulties induced him to offer to resign his See. To succeed him as Bishop of Quebec, the Abbé John Baptist de la Croix Chevrieres de Saint Vallier, a native of Grenoble, a man of piety and worth, and at the time one of the king's chaplains, was selected. With the authority of Vicar-General conferred upon him by Bishop Laval, the Abbé de St. Vallier visited Canada and examined the condition of the Church on the Atlantic shore of Acadia and throughout the valley of the St. Lawrence, consigning the result of his observations to writing, and in time giving them to the press.

Resolved, then, to undertake the direction of the diocese, he accepted the bulls of appointment, and Bishop Laval having ratified his virtual resignation by a formal act on the 24th of January, 1688, the Abbé Saint Vallier was duly consecrated bishop on the following day.

Bishop Laval's desire, ardently entertained, was to return to Canada and end his days there. After some delay this was permitted. Though no longer the bishop of the diocese, his personal influence was great, and during the absence of Bishop St. Vallier, 1691–2, 1700–1711, the presence of its former bishop was a source of blessing to Canada, in his co-operation with those entrusted with the administration, the exercise of episcopal functions, and the influence which his

zeal evoked for the good of religion. Surrounded by the loving children of his clergy, religious, and flock, Bishop Laval died on the 6th of May, 1708. He died as a saint and was venerated as one; many sought his intercession with God, and for nearly two centuries frequent miracles have been ascribed to him.

The Church of Canada in our day has petitioned for the



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF BISHOP LAVAL.

canonization of Bishop Laval. As by his authority the Church was established in New York, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and the cross borne down the current of the Mississippi, the Catholic Church in the United States cannot be indifferent to the cause which may exalt to the honor of public suffrages at our altars one who exercised episcopal jurisdiction over so vast a part of our territory.[1]

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[1] La Tour, "Memoires sur la Vie de M. de Laval, Premier Evêque de Québec," Cologne, 1761. Langevin, "Notice Biographique sur François de Laval de Montmorency, 1er Evêque de Québec," Montréal, 1874; "Esquisse de la vie . . . . de Mgr. Fr. Xavier de Laval Montmorency, Premier Evêque de Québec," Québec, 1845.

# BOOK IV.

## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### CATHOLICITY IN MARYLAND, 1690–1708.

It has been the custom with historians to speak contemptuously of the two Stuart brothers, Charles II. and James II., as rulers. Yet James seems to have been the first to apprehend the future greatness of America, and the necessity of uniting the colonies in one organized system. Charles, acting by the advice of James in dispossessing the Dutch, and taking steps for the speedy settlement of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, as well as by the charters which he granted for the Carolinas, made England sole occupant of the whole coast from the rugged shores of Maine to the borders of Florida. A compact series of communities, blended together, ready to afford mutual aid, confronted on the north the territories claimed by France, and on the south those occupied for more than a century by Spain. James II. as Duke of York, and as king, had been the first to check the increasing power of France on the north and west, and make the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi the boundaries of England's future empire.

The fall of the Stuarts changed the whole political and religious character of events. England became heartily and intensely opposed to Catholicity in her internal relations, and in her intercourse with other nations. She was precipitated into wars with France and Spain, and these involved her American colonies in hostilities with Canada and Florida. The struggle on the part of the colonies was not national

merely. It heightened the old antagonism to the Church of God, and made her an object of unceasing hatred and dread, and caused her to be regarded as a menacing enemy at the very doors of the colonists. Within the provinces every Catholic was regarded as a Jacobite, ready at all times to join any enemy whatever against his fellow-countrymen.

In Maryland a revolt against the authority of Lord Baltimore was headed by one John Coode, whose character may be judged by the fact that having subsequently been ordained a minister of the Church of England, he was indicted and convicted in 1699 of "atheism and blasphemy."[1] This man gathered a convention "for the defense of the Protestant religion," which sent to William III. an exposition of their motives. Among the grievances which they alleged was the following:

"In the next place Churches and Chappells, which by the said Charter, should be built and consecrated according to the Ecclesiasticall lawes of the kingdome of England, to our greate regrett and discouragement of our religion, are erected, and converted to the use of popish Idolatry and superstition, Jesuits and seminarie priests are the onely incumbents (for which their is a supply provided by sending over popish youth to be educated at St. Ormes."[2]

It further charged that, "severall children of protestants have been committed to the tutelage of papists, and brought up in the Romish superstition." And again, "The seizure and apprehending of protestants in their houses with armed forces, consisting of papists, and that in time of peace, thence

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[1] Hawks, "Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the U. S.," ii., p. 64.

[2] Maryland historians admit that these charges were groundless and malicious, McMahon, p. 240; Hawks, "Contributions," ii., p. 66; Chalmers, p. 383.

hurrying them away to prisons, etc. We still find all the meanes used by these very persons and their agents, Jesuits, priests, and lay papists, that art of malice cann suggest, to divert the obedience and loyalty of the Inhabitants from their most sacred Majᵗʸˢ to that height of impudence that solemn Masses and prayers are used (as wee have very good information) in their Chappells and Oratoryes for the prosperous success of the popish forces in Ireland, and the French designes against England."[1]

William seized the opportunity to make Maryland a royal province. He recognized the convention, and sent out Sir Lionel Copley as royal governor in 1691. This official at once summoned a legislature, from which all Catholics, though they represented very great landed interests, were excluded. The first act recognized William and Mary; the second was, "An Act for the service of Almighty God, and the establishment of the Protestant religion, in this Province." The knell of religious liberty had sounded. "Under the gentle auspices of that government of the Lords Baltimore," says the Maryland historian, McMahon, "that government, whose tyrannical and popish inclinations were now the favorite theme, the profession and exercise of the Christian religion in all its modes, was open to all,—no church was established: all were protected, none were taxed to sustain a church to whose tenets they were opposed, and the people gave freely as a benevolence, what they would have loathed as a tax."

The Puritans, ungrateful to the Catholics who offered them a home, had, on seizing the government, sought to crush the adherents of the ancient faith; now they beheld their own

[1] Scharf, i., pp. 311–3. The charges were utterly preposterous, as Protestants far outnumbered the Catholics, but the document gave the authorities in England a pretext they desired.

weapons turned against themselves, and saw a party, placed in power by their aid, establish the Church of England in Maryland. Nor was this merely in name. The whole province was divided into parishes, vestrymen were appointed, and every taxable inhabitant of Maryland, whether Catholic, Puritan, or Friend, was taxed annually forty pounds of tobacco to form a fund for building Episcopal churches and maintaining Episcopal ministers. To annoy the Catholics, Saint Mary's County, in which the population was mainly of that faith, was divided into two parishes, one named William and Mary, the other King and Queen. Here as in other Catholic parishes, the people were compelled to contribute their means to erect Episcopal churches, some still existing, and for nearly a century to pay for the support of a hostile ministry which never had but a petty flock of its own.

Being ere long disfranchised, the Catholics had no voice in making the laws or electing delegates, but they naturally united with the Friends and others, who felt the hardship of this unjust and oppressive system.

The church thus established had not ministers enough to supply the parishes created in the province, for, according to some, "there were scarcely any ministers in it." Governor Nicholson found but three, so indifferent had members of the Church of England been in regard to their religion. "These three," says a representation of the Anglican clergy to the Bishop of London, "had to contend with double their number of priests belonging to the Church of Rome."[1] Another Protestant represents "his religion as in a manner turned out of doors" by the very loose morals and "scandalous lives" of the Anglican clergy, and "by the Roman priests' cunning." The province then contained a popula-

[1] Hawks, "Contributions," ii., pp. 71, 76, 77.

tion of twenty-five thousand, a majority being Protestant; yet this was the state to which religion had fallen among them.[1]

But while the clergy of the Protestant faith were few, and by no means a credit, not a breath of suspicion is raised against the Catholic priests of Maryland. The only Jesuit Fathers then in the province, so far as we can gather, were the Rev. Nicholas Gulick, Rev. Francis Pennington, and Rev. William Hunter, with probably the Franciscan Father, Basil Hobart. Yet few as they were, these zealous priests not only kept alive the faith of Catholics, but won Protestants to the Church.[2]

In the Assembly convened by Nicholson on his arrival, an act was passed transferring the seat of government from Saint Mary's to Anne Arundell. "The reasons alleged for the change," says Scharf, "were not without weight; but it is probable that the true motives were to be found in the fact that Saint Mary's was especially a Catholic settlement, was beyond other towns devoted to the proprietary government, and was closely connected with all those ties which it

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[1] McMahon, "History of Maryland," p. 244; Hawks, i., p. 73.

[2] The Letter from the Maryland (Protestant Episcopal) Clergy to the Bishop of London, May 18, 1696 ("Hist. Mag.," March, 1868, p. 151), says: "When his Excellency Governor Nicholson came into the Country in the year 1694 there were but 3 Clergymen in Episcopal Orders, besides 5 or 6 popish priests who had perverted divers idle people from the Protestant Religion." . . . . "This expectation of the Lord Baltimore being restored to the Government of Maryland animates the Priests and Jesuits to begin already to inveigle several ignorant people to turn to their religion. To which end they do (contrary to the Act of Parliament to deter them from perverting any of his Majesty's Protestant subjects to popery) introduce themselves into the company of the sick when they have no Ministers that his Excellency hath been lately forced to issue out his proclamation against their so doing to restrain them." Ib., p. 153

was the policy of the new government to break up."[1] The Mayor, Common Council, and Freemen of Saint Mary's in vain appealed; their remonstrance was treated with the utmost contempt; the change was carried into effect, and though as late as 1705 government lingered at the old capital, Saint Mary's gradually declined, till nothing remains to mark the spot but a few bricks and the Protestant church erected with money wrung from the Catholics, and with the materials of the old Catholic church and governor's house.

About this time Governor Nicholson issued orders to the several sheriffs forthwith to make to him an exact return of all popish chapels and priests throughout the province. The returns made in 1696–7 show two priests and one lay brother in Saint Mary's County, which contained four chapels; three priests and one lay brother in Charles County, which also contained four chapels; and one chapel in Talbot County, where there was no resident priest, and which had probably been attended by a Rev. Mr. Smith.[2] The Jesuit Fathers then on the mission, beside Pennington and Hunter, were Father William Riddell, who arrived in 1695, and Father Thomas Harvey from New York and Father Robert Brooke, who arrived in 1696.

The next year Maryland was visited by a pestilence, and the Catholic priests showed their wonted zeal and devotedness. In many parts there were no Protestant clergy, or none who would face the danger, and the priest was frequently summoned to the bedside of a sufferer. Their care and attention won so many to the faith, that an Episcopal minister addressed a letter to Nicholson which he sent to the Legislature. That body took alarm, and in an address to the

[1] Scharf, i., p. 345.

[2] A priest of this name is alluded to soon after in a will as now or late of Talbot County.

governor said: "Upon reading a certain letter from a reverend minister of the Church of England which your Excellency was pleased to communicate to us, complaining to your Excellency that the Popish priests in Charles County do, of their own accord, in this raging and violent mortality in that county, make it their business to go up and down the county, to persons' houses when dying and frantic, and endeavour to seduce and make proselytes of them, and in such condition boldly presume to administer the sacrament to them; we have put it to the vote in the House, if a law should be made to restrain such their presumption or not; and have concluded to make no such law at present, but humbly entreat your Excellency that you would be pleased to issue your proclamation to restrain and prohibit such their extravagance and presumptuous behaviour." [1]

Such a proclamation probably issued. Ministers of the Gospel were forbidden in time of pestilence to visit the sick who were abandoned by their own pastors or destitute of them! One would think that steps to increase the numbers or efficiency of the established clergy would have been more reasonable.

Yet the matter did not drop there. Some time after, the Upper House paid this tribute to the zeal of Father William Hunter.[2] Addressing the governor, they say: "It being represented to this board that William Hunter, a Popish priest, in Charles county, committed divers enormities in disswading several persons, especially poor, ignorant people

[1] "Maryland Manuscripts at Fulham," cited by Hawks, ii., p. 79.

[2] Father William Hunter, a native of Yorkshire, entered the Society of Jesus in 1679, and after a year on the English mission came to Maryland in 1692. He was Superior of the Mission from 1696 to 1708, and died at Port Tobacco August 15, 1723, at the age of 64. Foley, "Records," vii., p. 385; "Woodstock Letters," xv., p. 93.

of the Church of England, from their faith and endeavouring to draw them to the Popish faith, consulted and debated whether it may not be advisable that the said Hunter be wholly silenced, and not suffered to preach or say mass in any part of this province, and thereupon it is thought advisable that the same be wholly left to his Excellency's judgment to silence him or not, as his demerits require."

The Legislature resolved to annoy, if they could not crush, the Catholics. A law had been passed in 1696, under which it was evidently intended to make attendance on the Church of England service compulsory, but it was annulled by the King's Council in 1699 on the express ground that it contained "a clause declaring all the laws of England to be in force in Maryland; which clause is of another nature than that which is set forth by the title in the said law."[1] The Legislature did not venture to act under the vague terms of this law by ordering any prosecution of the Catholic clergy.

The Franciscan Father Basil Hobart[2] and the Jesuit lay brother Nicholas Willart, whose deaths are reported in 1698, were perhaps victims to their zeal, early pioneers in the long catalogue of priests and religious who have been martyrs of charity in the land of Mary.

The Catholics had now entered on a period of great trial. The proprietary deprived of his government of the colony could exert no influence, and even his personal rights in the province he had secured only in part, the Assembly defying a royal decision.

Year by year new laws were enacted bearing more and more heavily on Catholics. Thus in 1700 an act was placed on the statute-book which required the use of the Book of

[1] Scharf, "History of Maryland," i., p. 364.

[2] "Acts of Chapter held in England," July 10, 1698. This Father had been laboring on the Maryland mission from 1674.

Common Prayer "in every church or other place of public worship," but the remonstrances against a statute which affected the Presbyterian and the Friend no less than the Catholic, prevented its receiving the royal assent.[1]

The Church of England took a step toward organizing in America by sending out the Rev. Dr. Bray as Commissary. Yet in his first visitation this high official addressing a minister arraigned for his scandalous life, bore testimony to the high character of the Catholic clergy. "It so happens, that you are seated in the midst of papists, nay, within two miles of Mr. Hunter, the chief amongst the numerous priests at this time in this province; and who, I am credibly informed by the most considerable gentlemen in these parts, has made that advantage of your scandalous living that there have been more perversions made to popery in that part of Mary-Land since your polygamy has been the talk of the country, than in all the time it has been an English colony."[2]

The English Government indeed began to feel that its neglect of all care for the religious condition of its subjects in America was not creditable to the realm or to the richly endowed church established by law. The Charter granted by William III. on the 16th day of June, in the thirteenth year of his reign, to "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," admits the delinquency in a coarse and vulgar fling at the Catholic clergy whose zeal and disinterested labors were such a striking contrast to their revilers. "Many of our loving subjects," it says, "do want the administration of God's word and sacraments, and seem to be abandoned to atheism and infidelity; and also for want of learned and orthodox ministers to instruct our said loving sub-

[1] Hawks, ii., p. 973; Scharf, i., pp. 365–6.

[2] "The Acts of Dr. Bray's Visitation, held at Annapolis, in Maryland" London, 1700, p. 12. Hawks, "Contributions," ii., pp. 497, etc.

jects in the principles of true religion, divers Romish priests and Jesuits are the more encouraged to pervert and draw over our said loving subjects to Popish superstition and idolatry."

Humphreys, the Historian of the Society, recording the work of the Society to the year 1718, is very cautious and gives no account of the extent of the Catholic Church in Maryland. There is not the slightest claim by him that the missionaries of this Protestant Society had gained any converts from the ranks of the Catholics, but writing after a law had been passed to prevent the introduction of Catholic servants, he contents himself with saying: "the number of Papists who went over there hath decreased."[1]

Thus from hostile testimony we draw some idea of the labors of a prominent Catholic clergyman in Maryland at this time.

By a law passed in 1702 which received the royal sanction, the English acts of toleration were extended to Protestant dissenters in Maryland, who were permitted to have service in their meeting-houses when registered. The Catholic was thus left the only victim of intolerance and oppression in a province founded by Catholics.[2]

John Seymour, the royal governor sent over in February, 1703, was a fit instrument for the enforcement of an unchristian policy.

Soon after his arrival a complaint was lodged before him

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[1] Humphreys, "An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." London, 1730, p. xvi., p. 21.

[2] And Maryland "presented the picture of a province, founded for the sake of religious opinion by the toil and treasure of Roman Catholics, in which of all who called themselves Christian, none, save Roman Catholics, were denied toleration." Rev. Dr. Hawks in "Contributions," ii., p. 117.

that Father William Hunter had consecrated a chapel, and that Father Robert Brooke had said mass in court time in the old Catholic chapel at Saint Mary's, as the Catholic clergy had done since the founding of the colony. The governor summoned the priests before him and his council, September 11, 1704, and though the accused asked to be attended by their counsel, Charles Carroll, this was refused. To the charge of consecrating a chapel Father Hunter replied that "he did not consecrate it, for that is an Episcopal function, and that nobody was present but himself in his common priest's vestments, and that neither under his Excellency's eye, nor in his presence, but if any such thing was done, it was above fourteen months ago, and long before his Excellency's arrival." Father Brooke pleaded justly that he had only done what others had formerly done without cavil.

The action and language of the wretched bigot who then governed Maryland are thus recorded, and are a picture of unexampled arrogance, insolence, and intolerance:

"Advised that this being the first complaint the said Mr. Hunter and Mr. Brooke be severely reprimanded, and told that they must not expect any favor, but the utmost severity of the law upon any misdemeanor by them committed; and being called in, his Excellency was pleased to give them the following reprimand:

"It is the unhappy temper of you and all your tribe to grow insolent upon civility, and never know how to use it, and yet of all people you have the least reason for considering that if the necessary laws that are made were let loose, they are sufficient to crush you, and which (if your arrogant principles have not blinded you) you must need to dread.

"You might, methinks, be content to live quietly as you may, and let the exercise of your superstitious vanities be confined to yourselves, without proclaiming them at public

times and in public places, unless you expect by your gaudy shows and serpentine policy, to amuse the multitude, and beguile the unthinking weakest part of them, an act of deceit well known to be amongst you.

"But, gentlemen, be not deceived, for though the clemency of her Majesty's government, and of her gracious inclinations leads her to make all her subjects easy, that know how to be so, yet her Majesty is not without means to curb insolence, but more especially in your fraternity, who are more eminently than others abounding with it; and I assure you the next occasion you give me you shall find the truth of what I say, which you should now do, but that I am willing upon the earnest solicitations of some gentlemen to make one trial (and it shall be but this one) of your temper.

"In plain and few words, gentlemen, if you intend to live here, let me hear no more of these things, for if I do and they are made good against you, be assured I'll chastise you; and least you should flatter yourselves that the severities of the laws will be the means to move the pity of your judges, I assure you I do not intend to deal with you so. I'll remove the evil by sending you where you will be dealt with as you deserve.

"Therefore, as I told you, I'll make but this one trial, and advise you to be civil and modest, for there is no other way for you to live quietly here.

"You are the first that have given any disturbance to my government, and if it were not for the hopes of your better demeanour you should now be the first that should feel the effects of so doing. Pray take notice that I am an English Protestant gentleman, and can never equivocate."[1]

The two priests, who had really violated no law of the

[1] "Proceedings of the Council," cited by Scharf, i., p. 368.

province, who had not been indicted or tried, were then discharged, but the matter did not end there. The House of Delegates, always in Maryland more violently anti-Catholic than the Upper House, sent an address to Governor Seymour on the 19th of September, 1704, to express their satisfaction with his course and thank him for it.

The Council also "taking under their consideration, that such use of the Popish chapel of the City of Saint Mary's, in St. Mary's County, where there is a Protestant church, and the said County Court is kept, is both scandalous and offensive to the government, do advise and desire his Excellency the Governor, to give immediate orders for the shutting up of the said Popish chapel, and that no person presume to make use thereof under any pretence whatever.

"Whereupon it was ordered by his Excellency the Governor, that present the Sheriff of St. Mary's County, lock up the said chapel and keep the key thereof."[1]

Thus was the first Christian place of worship in Maryland, founded by the Catholics in 1634, wrested from them forever. Of its subsequent fate, there is nothing to tell us.[2]

Anti-Catholic legislation and action were not confined to Maryland, though elsewhere, where Catholics were few and there were no priests or chapels, the enactments were comparatively harmless.

In 1700 the Earl of Bellomont, Governor of New York, a fierce anti-Catholic zealot, son of a Colonel Coote, whose butcheries of Catholics in Ireland stand out horribly even on the records of that unhappy island, contrived to carry through

[1] Scharf, i., p. 369; "Woodstock Letters," xiii., p. 276. The early records of St. Mary's County down to 1827 have perished. Letter of J. Frank Ford, County Clerk.

[2] According to the tradition of the Catholics of St. Mary's County, a barn occupies the site of the first chapel reared for the worship of Almighty God in Maryland.

the New York Legislature the first penal act against the Catholic clergy, and Massachusetts, of which he was also Governor, almost simultaneously passed a similar act.

Common as misrepresentation in regard to Catholics then was and later too, the preamble of the New York act is a remarkable instance of disregard of truth as the context was of humanity. "Whereas divers Jesuits, Priests and Popish missionaries have of late come and for some time have had their residence in the remote parts of this Province, and others of his Majesty's adjacent colonies, who, by their wicked and subtle insinuations, industriously labour to debauch, seduce and withdraw the Indians from their due obedience to His most sacred Majesty, and to excite and stir them up to sedition, rebellion, and open hostility against his Majesty's government," says this preamble, although the existence of the missionaries and their residence in New York would be very difficult to prove, and the acts charged are without a particle of testimony in fact or probability. Yet the law enacted that every priest remaining in the province after the passage of the law, or coming in after November 1, 1700, should be "deemed and accounted an incendiary and disturber of the public peace and safety, and an enemy to the true Christian religion, and shall be adjudged to suffer perpetual imprisonment." Any priest imprisoned under the act who escaped from his dungeon was liable to the penalty of death if he was retaken. Any one who harbored a Catholic priest was subject to a fine of two hundred and fifty pounds, and was to stand on the pillory for three days.[1]

The next year a law passed by which "Papists and Popish recusants were prohibited from voting for members of as-

[1] "An Act against Jesuits and Popish Priests," "Acts passed.... July, Aug., Oct., 1700," in "The Laws of Her Majesties Colony of New York." New York, 1710, p. 37.

sembly, or any office whatever from thenceforth and forever."

The Massachusetts law passed by Bellomont's influence was almost identical in language.[1]

Not to be behind in zeal for the Protestant supremacy, the Maryland Legislature, stimulated by Governor Seymour, who was incensed against the Catholics because they refused to make up a purse for him, passed an act, on the 3d of October, 1704, "to prevent the growth of popery within this province."[2] Its provisions contrast strangely with the charity and liberality of the laws passed while Catholic influence prevailed. This law enacted that "whatsoever popish bishop, priest, or Jesuit, should baptize any child or children, other than such who have popish parents, or shall say mass, or exercise the function of a popish bishop or priest within this Province, or should endeavor to persuade any of his majesty's liege people to embrace and be reconciled to the Church of Rome," should, upon conviction, pay the sum of £50 and be imprisoned for six months. And if, after such conviction, any popish bishop, priest, or Jesuit, should say mass or exercise any function of a priest within the province, or if any persons professing to be of the Church of Rome should keep school, or take upon themselves the education, government, or boarding of youth, at any place in the province, upon conviction such offenders should be transported to England to undergo the penalties provided there by Statutes 11 and 12, William III., "for the further preventing the growth of Popery." And the fourth section provided that if any

[1] "An Act against Jesuits and Popish Priests." "Acts and Laws passed by the Great and General Court or Assembly, begun 29th of May, 1700." London, 1724, p. 169.

[2] "A Compleat Colliection of the Laws of Maryland," Annapolis, 1727, p. 201. Acts of 1704, ch. 59.

Popish youth shall not, within six months after he attains his majority, take the oaths prescribed, he shall be incapable of taking lands by descent, and his next of kin being a Protestant shall succeed to them; that any person professing the Catholic faith shall be incompetent to purchase lands. Another section provided that any person sending his child abroad to be educated in the Catholic faith should forfeit £100.[1]

Another clause providing that "Protestant children of Popish parents might not, for want of a suitable maintenance, be compelled to embrace the Popish religion contrary to their inclinations," enacted, "if any such person refused a proper support to his Protestant child that the governor or keeper of the great seal should have power to make such order therein as suited the intent of the act."[1]

Of this fearful law of persecution the Rev. Dr. Hawks, an Episcopal clergyman, says: "The enactment enforced a gross violation of the best feelings of human nature; it forbade a parent to fulfil the first duty which he owed to his offspring, that of instruction; and dissolving filial obligation, offered to a wayward child a premium for youthful hypocrisy. He who can speak of such a law in any terms but those of indignant reprobation, deserves himself to endure all its penalties."[2]

The act made the performance of any duty by a priest or bishop a crime: he could not baptize, offer the holy sacrifice, hear confessions, preach, or attend the dying. No Catholic could teach, no Catholic could send his child out of the province to receive instructions from those of his faith.

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[1] "Acts of Assembly," passed in the province of Maryland, from 1692 to 1715. London, 1723, p. 24.

[2] Hawks, "Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States," iii., pp. 125–127. Scharf, "History of Maryland," i., pp. 369–370.

When this act was promulgated Maryland was in a ferment. The Catholics complained of the hardship, ingratitude, and injustice of such a penal law, for which they had not given the slightest pretext by any action on their part. Numbers of their Protestant neighbors sympathized with them so that the Assemblymen declared that it was neither their intention nor desire to forbid Catholics the free exercise of their religion, and they addressed the governor asking that the Assembly should be reconvened. As soon as it met, the Legislature on the 9th of December suspended the operation of this law for eighteen months, as against priests exercising their functions only in the house of a Catholic family.[1]

The law did not emanate from the delegates, it would seem, but was probably sprung upon them by some tactics of the governor, whose hatred of the Catholics was intense.

Another act of this year imposed a fine of twenty pounds on any one who brought in the sturdy arms of an Irish papist to till the soil of Maryland.[2]

It may seem somewhat strange to find the English sovereign and government intervene to protect any part of the people from the intolerance and sectarian tyranny of a colonial assembly, but such was now actually the case. The Commissioners of Trade and Plantations were shocked at the injustice of Governor Seymour and his pliant Assembly. After consulting with the Bishop of London, who was regarded as the Diocesan of the Anglican Church in the colonies, they petitioned Queen Anne to extend her royal protection to her menaced Catholic subjects in America. Anne

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[1] Bacon's "Laws," 1704, ch. 9.

[2] "Liberty and Property; or, the Beauty of Maryland displayed," etc. "By a Lover of his Country."

favored the Church of England, and personally did more for it in America than any other English sovereign, her name being gratefully remembered to this day; but in Maryland and Nova Scotia she won as enduring a claim to the gratitude of Catholics, and in both provinces for many a year the faithful appealed to her kindly interposition as their protecting ægis. The Acts of the Maryland Assembly "being taken into her Majesty's Royal Consideration, out of her Gracious Tenderness to all her Subjects, behaving themselves peaceably and quietly under Her Majesty's Government she has been Graciously pleased by Her Order to His Excellency the Governour of this Province, bearing date at the Council Board at Whitehall, the Third Day of January, 1705, to direct that a New Law or Clause of a Law should be Enacted in this Province, whereby the said Act of Assembly, suspending the Execution of that Part of the said First mentioned Law for preventing the Growth of Popery, viz., as to the Prosecution of any Priests of the Communion of the Church of Rome, incurring the Penalties of the said Act, by exercising their Function in a private Family of the Roman Communion, but in no other Case whatsoever, may be continued, without any other Limitation of Time than until Her Majesty's further Pleasure be declared and signified therein." And in obedience to this order of Queen Anne, the Maryland Assembly, March 26—April 15, 1707, passed the required law.[1]

The new act stands as a proof that the Catholics of Maryland had behaved themselves peaceably and quietly under Her Majesty's Government, for had it been possible for Seymour and his followers to allege the contrary, as a pretext

[1] "A Compleat Collection of the Laws of Maryland," Annapolis, 1727, p. 50.

for their tyrannical intolerance, they would not have failed to present charges to that effect.

They had, however, already sought to elude the effect of the temporary suspension of the Act by passing a law, for extending to Maryland a certain act in regard to marriages, to which was added, in a way to escape notice, a clause that all the Penal acts mentioned in a law of I William III. "shall be and are in full force to all Intents and Purposes within this Province."[1] But the royal sanction to this law was withheld on the ground that it embraced matters not clearly expressed in the title.[2]

An indication of the feeling prevailing in Maryland at this epoch is seen in a little work printed at Boston, in 1707, probably because there was no press in Maryland to issue it. It was entitled, "A Catechism against Popery for Christians in Maryland."[3]

The next year the Sheriffs of the several counties were required to report the number of Catholics within their several counties, and in a population exceeding forty thousand only 2,974 were returned by the officers, nearly one-half, 1,238, being in Saint Mary's County, with 709 in Charles, and 248 in Prince George's Counties. In the rest of the province the number was small, 161 in Anne Arundell, 53 in Baltimore, 48 in Calvert Counties; while on the eastern shore it was even less, 49 in Cecil, 40 in Kent, 179 in Queen Anne, 89 in Talbot, 79 in Dorchester, and 81 in Somerset. This

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[1] Laws, p. 48. The Act of 1704 was formally repealed in 1717. Ibid., p. 201.

[2] Rev. George Hunter, S.J. "A short Account of y^e^ State and Condition of y^e^ Roman Catholicks in y^e^ Province of Maryland, collected from authentick copys of y^e^ Provincial Records and other undoubted testimonys."

[3] Thomas, "History of Printing," Second Edition, ad ann. 1707.

little flock the vanguard of the phalanx of the faith in the English-speaking part of America, were guided by the great Father William Hunter, still Superior; Father Robert Brooke, of the family from which Charles Carroll of Carrollton was a scion; George Thorold, who was in time Superior; Thomas Mansell, and William Wood, who came to the mission in 1700, Father Mansell in 1704, founding the mission at Bohemia, in Cecil County, near the more Christian and less intolerant province of Pennsylvania.[1]

The exemption granted temporarily, and confirmed perpetually by Queen Anne's directions, allowed the offices of the Church to be performed only in a private family. Henceforward to the end of British rule, no separate Catholic church or chapel was allowed. The step taken by the early missionaries in securing lands was now to show its providential character. The houses of the missionaries were adapted or new ones erected in such a form that while to all intents and purposes each was a dwelling-house, a large room within was a chapel for the Catholics of the district. The house of some Catholic planter at a convenient distance would, by the zeal and piety of the owner, have under the general roof a chapel-room where his family and neighbors could gather to join in the awful sacrifice so pleasing in the eyes of God, so terrible to hell. The ancient Carroll mansion at Doughoregan manor is a type of one of these private chapels which alone for generations enabled the Catholics in that dis-

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[1] Rev. W. P. Treacy, "Catalogue of our Missionary Fathers," 1634–1805. "Woodstock Letters," x., p. 15; xv., pp. 90–1. Scharf, "History of Maryland," i., p. 370, and authority cited.

Father Robert Brooke, of a pious Maryland family, one of the earliest American members of the Society, was sent back to his native province about 1696, and was Superior of the Mission from 1710 to his death at Newtown, July 18, 1714. Foley, "Records," vii., p. 91; "Woodstock Letters," xv., p. 93.

trict to enjoy the privilege of worshipping God. Of the priest chapel-houses the most perfect example now remaining is the Rock Creek or Hickory Mission in Harford County, of which a sketch will be given in this work, as well as the ground-plan and elevation of a similar structure reared in the last century on the eastern shore.[1]

"When divine service was performed at a distance from their residence, private and inconvenient houses were used for churches." "Catholics contributed nothing to the support of religion or its ministers; the whole charge of their maintenance, of furnishing the altars, of all travelling expenses, fell on the priests themselves, and no compensation was ever offered for any services performed by them, nor did they require any so long as the produce of their lands was sufficient to answer their demand."[2]

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[1] See "Woodstock Letters," vi., p. 13.

[2] "Bishop Carroll's Account."

## CHAPTER II.

### CATHOLICITY IN PENNSYLVANIA AND MARYLAND, 1708–1741.

WHILE religion was thus oppressed in Maryland, Penn, who had recovered his Province of Pennsylvania, practiced, as far as he dared, the principles of religious liberty which he shared with the Calverts and James II.[1] But with the prudent caution which marked his career, he avoided coming to any issue with the home government, fully aware that any collision on that point would imperil his power to do good and endanger the religious freedom of his own community.

In the first clause of the Charter of Liberties and Privileges, October 28, 1701, which reaffirmed the toleration already established, it was provided: "And that all persons who also profess to believe in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, shall be capable (notwithstanding their other persuasions and practices in point of conscience and religion) to serve the government in any capacity, both legislatively and executively, he or they solemnly promising when lawfully

[1] In New Jersey the Liberty of Conscience proclaimed in 1702 excepted Papists and Quakers. In Carolina, members of Assembly had to receive communion in the Anglican church by Act of 1704. "Throughout the Colonies at the beginning of the eighteenth century the man who did not conform to the established religion of the colony . . . . if he were a Roman Catholic was everywhere wholly disfranchised. For him there was not even the legal right of public worship." C. J. Stille, "Penn. Mag. of Hist.," ix., p. 375. All colonial officers were, by a declaration of Queen Anne in 1702, required to take the test oath, and thus all Catholics were excluded. Ibid., p. 390. See "Woodstock Letters," vi., p. 13.

required, allegiance to the king as sovereign, and fidelity to the Proprietor and Governor."

Encouraged by the liberality of Penn's government, many Catholics, unable to settle in Maryland, began to make their homes in Pennsylvania. Who the pioneer Catholics were, and who was the first priest, is a point now involved in obscurity. Evidence from several sources shows that mass was openly offered in Philadelphia at the close of 1707, or early in the ensuing year, and Lionel Brittain, a man of means and position, became a convert to the Catholic faith. The Rev. John Talbot, an Anglican clergyman at Burlington, New Jersey, and a nonjuring bishop, learned these facts in New York, and reported them January 10, 1708, to the Secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and the next month, in a letter to Keith, mentions the conversion of several persons.[1]

During those days of general persecution, Catholics in most parts of the British Empire acted with great caution so as not to excite hostility, but in Philadelphia they showed less prudence. The fact that mass was openly said, became known in England, and was made the basis of accusation against Penn, who wrote to Logan: "Here is a complaint against your government that you suffer publick mass in a scandalous manner."

There is, however, no Catholic record or tradition as to the

[1] "Since Mr. Brooke, Mr. Moore, and Mr. Evans went away there's an Independancy set up again at Elizabeth Town, Anabaptism at Burlington, and the Popish Mass at Philadelphia."—Letter of Rev. John Talbot to the Secretary of the Soc. Prop. Gosp., New York, January 10, 1707–8. Hill's "Hist. Burlington," p. 78. "I saw Mr. Bradford at New York; he tells me mass is set up and read publicly in Philadelphia, and several people are turned to it, amongst which Lionel Brittain, the church warden, is one, and his son another."—Letter of Rev. John Talbot to Rev. Mr. Keith, 14th February, 1707–8. "Doc. Hist. P. E. Church, Connecticut," ii., p. 37, New York, 1862.

Catholic clergyman whose zeal attracted this general notice, nor do we know anything of his flock.

The place where the first mass was offered is not clearly settled. Watson, the annalist of Philadelphia, on the authority of Samuel Coates, stated that it was the house at the northwest corner of Front and Walnut Streets. A later and careful historian, Thompson Westcott, raised a doubt by showing that this property belonged to Griffith Jones, a member of the Society of Friends, and one of the early Mayors of Philadelphia. But Jones or his grantee was the neighbor of the Catholics, Meade and Brown, near Nicetown, where a Catholic chapel is traditionally reported to have existed on ground once possessed by him. It is certainly a curious fact that his name is thus connected with two spots where Catholics are reported to have gathered to worship God.[1] Moreover, as early as 1698, Jones was suspected of disaffection, and was arrested as the writer of a petition favoring the Anglican Church.[2]

We are up to this time equally in the dark as to the priest who officiated for the Catholics of Philadelphia in 1708; no evidence has yet been found. None of those who have written on the Jesuit missions in Maryland mention any Father of the Society as laboring in Pennsylvania prior to Father Greaton, whose name does not appear on the Maryland mission before 1721.[3] It may have been Father Mansell from Bohemia, or the English Franciscan Father, James

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[1] "Pennsylvania Magazine of History," ii., p. 447; iv., p. 423.

[2] Perry, "Papers relating to the History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania," p. 10. A stepdaughter of Jones seems to have married into the Catholic family of Willcox. "Penn. Mag. of Hist.," x., p. 124.

[3] F. Treacy, "Catalogue of our Missionary Fathers," 1634–1805; "Woodstock Letters," xv., p. 93.

Haddock, or one of the Scotch Fathers of that order, Peter Gordon, or Clement Hyslop, or indeed some secular priest.[1]

Induced probably by the hostility of the Maryland authorities, the Catholics in the province seem to have moved towards the friendly borders of the territories of William Penn, taking up grounds and settling in the northern parts of both shores. The clergy took steps to extend their ministry to this new flock. As already stated, Father Thomas Mansell, a native of Oxfordshire, who had entered the Society of Jesus in 1686, and after his ordination had been sent to Maryland in 1700,[2] is said to have taken up his residence about 1704 in Cecil County, near the manor of Augustine Herman. Two sisters of the name of O'Daniel had obtained a warrant for lands, which they bequeathed to Father Mansell and William Douglass. On the 10th July, 1706, Father Mansell obtained a patent for 458 acres, under the name of Saint Xaverius. It lay a few miles southeast of the junction of the Great and Little Bohemia Rivers. The estate was subsequently enlarged by the purchase of the St. Inigo tract from a neighboring Catholic proprietor, James Heath.[3] Here the manor-house became at once a residence for the

[1] Oliver, "Collections illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion," etc., London, 1857, p. 541. "Cong. Int.," Lond., January 30, 1699–1700, p. 167.

Watson's traditional account was accepted by Catholics generally, and no one seems to have questioned it. Col. Bernard U. Campbell, Bishop O'Connor, Archbishop Kenrick, all adopted it, and Henry de Courcy de La Roche Heron, finding it accepted by men of such standing in the Church, gave it on their authority in his Sketch of the Church which I translated. Dishonest writers attack this last gentleman as though he had invented the story. They even cite Mr. de Courcy's words as mine; I had written nothing on the history of the Church in Pennsylvania except in private letters, having called Mr. Westcott's attention to Brittain's conversion and the presence of Recollect Fathers.

[2] Foley, "Records of the English Province," vii., p. 487.

[3] Geo. Johnston, "History of Cecil County, Maryland," pp. 195–199.

missionaries and a chapel for the Catholics in the vicinity, while those residing at other points on the peninsula were visited at stated periods by the priests stationed at Bohemia, which was known as "St. Xavier's Residence on the Eastern Shore."[1] The stations attended from Bohemia were not as numerous as those in the older Catholic parts and the duty more laborious. The priests of St. Xavier's mission laid the foundation of Catholicity in Delaware by establishing a mission at Apoquinimink, where mass was said at stated times, perhaps at the residence of the Holohan family, who had settled on Mount Cuba.[2]

We get an idea of the labors of the priests at Bohemia from a description by Father Mosley several years later, when things must have improved somewhat.

"Ye congr . . . . ns are fewer but y$^{e}$ rides much longer. On y$^{e}$ 1$^{st}$ Sunday 50 mile where I pass y$^{e}$ whole week in that Neighbourhood in close Business with y$^{e}$ Ignorant. On y$^{e}$ 2$^{nd}$ I go down y$^{e}$ Chesapike Bay 40 mile farther, which makes me 90 mile from Home; y$^{e}$ other 2 Sundays are easier."

When Father Mansell began his establishment at Bohemia, "it is highly probable that he brought with him the ancient cross, which has been at Bohemia ever since.[3] This cross is about five feet high, and is said to have been brought to St.

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[1] Father Mosley speaks of Bohemia as a fine plantation "nigh Philadelphia, which is a vast advantage." The lands at Bohemia were bequeathed by Father Mansell to Thomas Hodgson, February 20, 1723. The founder of the Bohemia mission died March 18, 1724, aged 55, having been Superior of the Mission in 1714 and for several years thereafter. Foley, "Records," vii., p. 487; "Woodstock Letters," xv., p. 93.

[2] Perry, "Papers relating to the Church in Pennsylvania," p. 313; "Woodstock Letters," xv., p. 223.

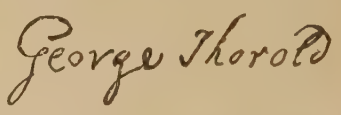
[3] Geo. Johnston, "History of Cecil County," p. 199.

Mary's by the first settlers who came there from England. It is made of wrought-iron and certainly looks ancient enough to have been brought over by the Pilgrims who came over in the 'Ark' and 'Dove.'"[1]

There seems to have been some ground for hope of better times for the Church in 1711, as four Fathers of the Society of Jesus, Peter Attwood, Francis Beaumont, Charles Brockholes, and Thomas Hodgson, were sent out in that year. The zealous Fathers Hunter and Brooke, the latter Superior of the Mission, with Mansell, Wood, and Thorold, seem to have composed the Jesuit body.[2]

FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER PETER ATTWOOD.

Father George Thorold was sent to Maryland in 1700, and labored there for more than forty years, after having done service in England. He was, with slight interruption, Superior of the Mission from 1725 to 1734. He was of a Berkshire family, born February 11, 1670, and died at St. Thomas Manor, November 15, 1742.[3]



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER GEORGE THOROLD.

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[1] The kitchen at Bohemia is believed to be Father Mansell's house and chapel. A larger chapel-house was soon erected.

"In 1705 the present house of St. Inigoes was erected, under Father Ashbey, with the bricks of the old Church of St. Mary's, which had been brought from England. About the same time a small church was erected in the chapel field and a graveyard attached to it." Bishop Fenwick, "Brief Account of the Settlement of Maryland."

[2] Henry Foley, "Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus," vii., pp. 23, 43, 87, 91, 364, 385, 487, 774. The young Father Henry Poulton died September 27, 1712, at the age of 33. Ibid., p. 623; Treacy, "Catalogue of our Missionary Fathers"; "Woodstock Letters," xv., p. 93; xiv., p. 378.

[3] Foley, "Records," vii., p. 774; "Woodstock Letters," xv., p. 95.

Father Peter Attwood, an active and zealous missionary of this period, was the son of George Attwood, Esq., of Beverie, and Winifred Petre. He entered the Society of Jesus when about twenty-one, and coming to Maryland in 1711 was on active duty, showing ability in the management of affairs. He was on two occasions Superior of the Mission, and died while still in office on Christmas day, 1734.[1]

Lord Baltimore at this time, and perhaps on other occasions, contributed to the support of the missionaries who were exposed to the persecution of governors in whose appointment he had no voice. In his "Instructions, power and authority to Charles Carroll, dated September 12, 1712," he directs that gentleman as his agent to pay yearly eight thousand pounds of tobacco to "Mr. Robert Brooke and the rest of his brethren, being in all eight persons," and he orders the payment of another thousand pounds to "Mr. James Haddock," the Franciscan missionary already mentioned.[2]

In 1713 the cause of Catholicity in Maryland received a sad blow. Benedict Leonard Calvert, heir to the Barony, in the hope of recovering in time the control of the Province of Maryland, for which the English Government required apostasy from the true faith, weakly yielded, and on the third day of January renounced his religion. His father deplored the step and deprived his son of his income, till the Government compelled him to make an allowance. The young man's apostasy did not secure the boon that he coveted; he survived his father only a short time, and died without recovering his rights in Maryland. His infant son, Charles Calvert, Lord Baltimore, was brought up a Protestant. When he came of age he was acknowledged as Lord

[1] Foley, "Records," vii., p. 23; "Woodstock Letters," xv., p. 94.

[2] Kilty, "Land-Holder's Assistant," p. 129. The eight seems to include only those in the lower counties, omitting Mansell, who was at Bohemia.

Proprietor, and the house of Calvert till it ended in dishonor was one of the Protestant powers of the province.

The influence of this desertion was naturally great. There were in Maryland weak Catholics who had been borne up and strengthened hitherto by the courageous fidelity of the Lords Baltimore and their families. Some of these began to waver; some even thought it no shame to follow the sad example of the late Lord Proprietary, and sacrifice their faith in order to secure immunity from dangers which seemed to threaten the whole Catholic body, or obtain civil rights and offices.[1]

The alarm among the adherents of true religion was increased by the course of the Assembly in exacting new oaths from all who held any office in the province. A law of April 26, 1715, required every official to take oaths abjuring all allegiance to the son of the exiled king, James II., and swearing allegiance to George I. This did not affect Catholics, as such, but the Act of July 17, 1716, effectually excluded Catholics from any even the humblest office in the province which they had built up by their industry and ennobled by their liberality. To hold an office every man was required to take an oath of allegiance to King George; an oath of abhorrence of the Pope's right to depose sovereigns; an oath abjuring James III., and an oath that he did not believe in Transubstantiation.

Even after taking this string of oaths an officer in Maryland was not yet sure of his position. For if he should at any time thereafter "be present at any Popish Assembly, Conventicle, or Meeting, and joyn with them in their Service at Mass, or receive the Sacrament in that Communion,"[2]

[1] Scharf, "History of Maryland," i., p. 379.

[2] "A Compleat Collection of the Laws of Maryland," Annapolis, 1727, pp. 74, 161–4.

he forfeited his office, and became disqualified for any other.

To prevent an increase of the Catholic body by immigration, a tax of twenty shillings was imposed in 1716, on every "Irish papist" servant introduced into the province, and this tax was doubled the next year.[1]

This was followed by the complete disfranchisement of the Catholics. An act regulating the election of delegates begins, "And whereas notwithstanding all the measures that have been hitherto taken for preventing the Growth of Popery within this Province, It is very obvious, that not only profest Papists still multiply and increase in Number, but that there are also too great numbers of others that adhere to and espouse their Interest in opposition to the Protestant Establishment," and after reciting the dangers to be feared from Catholics electing a candidate the statute enacted, "That all profest Papists whatsoever, be (and are hereby declared) uncapable of giving their vote in any Election of a Delegate or Delegates," unless they took the oaths required of office-holders.[2]

Yet the Catholic clergy only nerved themselves to greater zeal, and that their labors were not without fruit is evident from a letter addressed by Governor Hart to Bishop Robinson, of London, where speaking of the Anglican clergy he wrote: "I am sorry to represent to your lordship, that there are some whose education and morals are a scandal to their profession, and I am amazed how such illiterate men came to be in holy orders. The advantage which the Jesuits have from their negligence is but too evident in the many prose-

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[1] "A Compleat Collection of the Laws of Maryland," Annapolis, 1727, p. 192.

[2] Ibid., p. 197.

lytes they make."[1] And the same governor addressing the Anglican clergy in 1718, expressed his regret that "Jesuits and other Popish emissaries" were gaining proselytes, and the assembled ministers admitted the fact as they had done two years before.[2]

The transportation to the plantations in America of many Scotchmen who had taken part in the rising in favor of the son of James II., must have thrown some Catholics into Maryland, and the two Scotch Recollects were apparently still in the country and may have ministered to them.[3]

The observance of the holidays of the Church by Catholics in the midst of a Protestant population has always raised difficulties. The Jesuit Fathers in Maryland in 1722, through their provincial Father Hill, sought the decision of Bishop Giffard. Finding that many Catholics took the liberty of working on holidays of obligation in a most disedifying manner, because such labor was, under certain contingencies, a matter of necessity, the missionaries submitted to the Vicar-Apostolic regulations which they had adopted, aiming to carry out the spirit of the church by enforcing the proper observance of all the festivals she prescribed, but authorizing servile labor by farm-hands employed in getting in the crops, on any holidays that occurred between the beginning of May and the end of September, excepting, however, Ascension, Whitmonday, Corpus Christi, and Assumption, on which no work was allowed. On all holidays without exception Catholics were required to hear mass, if said at a chapel within their reach, and when there was no mass said at any place which they could conveniently attend,

[1] Maryland MSS. in Records at the Episcopal Palace, Fulham, cited by Dr. Hawks, "Contributions," ii., p. 139.

[2] Hawks, "Contributions," ii., pp. 149, 161.

[3] Scharf, "History of Maryland," i., p. 385.

BONAVENTURE GIFFARD

BISHOP OF MADAURA, 1ST VIC. AP. OF [illegible]

parents and masters were to have public prayers, catechism, and spiritual reading.

Bishop Giffard approved the regulations as equally prudent and pious, "because," he writes, "there is a due regard to religious duties and corporal necessities. Wherefore I approve of the said regulations and order them to be observed. London, December 21, 1722."

These regulations remained in force apparently till the number of holidays for the Catholics of England was reduced by Pope Pius VI. (March 9, 1777).

Dr. Bonaventura Giffard, D.D., Bishop of Madaura and Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, who thus showed his zeal and interest in the welfare of his transatlantic flock, was a prelate of piety and learning long connected with the church in England. He was born at Wolverhampton of an ancient family in 1642, and at an early age lost his father, who was killed fighting for the king. After a course at Douay College he pursued his ecclesiastical studies at Paris, and took his degree from the Sorbonne, in 1677. He was appointed chaplain to James II., and on the 12th of January, 1688, was elected by the Propaganda Vicar-Apostolic of the Midland District, and was consecrated April 22d, apparently by the Pope's Nuncio. James made him also President of Magdalen College, Oxford. He was ejected on the accession of William III., and was confined for nearly two years in Newgate Prison, and then in Hertford jail. In 1703 he was transferred to the London District, over which he presided to his death, on the 12th of March, 1734, governing also from 1708 to 1713 the Western District.

He was such an object of persecution that he was compelled to change his dwelling-place fourteen times in a single year, large rewards tempting the priest-hunters to procure his arrest.

In 1720 Henry Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk, was appointed Bishop of Utica, and coadjutor to Bishop Giffard, but he did not live to receive episcopal consecration, dying of a fever contracted in visiting the sick poor of his flock, in March, 1721. The Rt. Rev. Benjamin Petre appointed coadjutor, succeeded Bishop Giffard, in the London Vicariate and the charge of the American mission. Bishop Giffard was interred at St. Pancras' Church, London, but his heart was taken to Douay.[1]

About this time Catholics and Catholicity seemed to have invaded the very capital of the Province of Maryland, as the Carrolls not only had a residence at Annapolis, but actually had a Catholic chaplain, Father John Bennet. The Calverts, though they had conformed to the State Church, showed a kindly interest in those who had suffered for their fidelity to the house of Baltimore. Though an intolerant legislature could disfranchise Catholics and deprive them of office, it could not prevent the Lord Proprietor from employing Catholics in his private business. Charles Carroll as agent of Lord Baltimore enjoyed a kind of immunity which greatly incensed the foes of the Catholics.

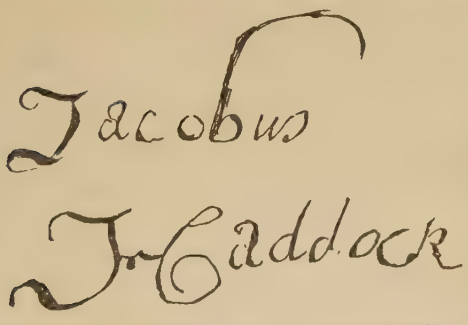
In 1723 there were twelve Jesuit Fathers on the Maryland mission, and as a Catalogue notes, "scattered through this immense tract of country, they strenuously labor in protecting and propagating the Catholic faith. Four temporal coadjutors attended to the care of their domestic affairs, and the cultivation of the land, the produce of which is sufficient to support all the members. Besides the land, there is no other source of support belonging to the mission."

In 1725 we obtain another gleam of the zeal of the Cath-

[1] Brady, "Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy," Rome, 1883, pp. 203, 149. Besides the rare portrait here copied there is said to be one by Du Bosc.

olic clergy in Maryland. "The Jesuits were not idle," writes Dr. Hawks. "Their number had increased, and they not unfrequently challenged the Protestant clergy to public doctrinal disputations, such as have often occurred in the history of the Church; and of no one of which can it be truly recorded (as we believe) that it has accomplished any good purpose." . . . . "The clergy of the establishment, however, did not decline the challenge."[1]

Of the time and participants in these controversies we unfortunately know nothing from Catholic sources. The little body of missionaries lost Father William Hunter in 1723, and Father Mansell, the founder of Bohemia, in the year following, but their number was increased in 1724 by the arrival of Fathers John Bennet, James Whitgrave, Francis Floyd, Henry Whetenhall, Peter Davis, and James Case.



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF FATHER HADDOCK, ON THE FLY-LEAF OF A BOOK AT WOODSTOCK.

By the death of Father Haddock, who apparently expired in 1720, among the Jesuit Fathers to one of whose houses he had retired, closed the Franciscan Mission in Maryland,[2] and the whole care of the Catholics in the Brit-

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[1] Hawks, "Contributions," ii., p. 180, citing Maryland Manuscripts, Fulham.

[2] Father Haddock signs himself in one place, "Jacobus Haddock, O. Min. Strict. Ob. Prov. Angliæ in terra Mariana et cœteris partibus occidentalibus missionarius," which seems to indicate that some of his work

ish provinces devolved on the Jesuit Fathers, who had from the outset alone constantly and persistently adhered to this field of mission labor.[1] In England the missions confided to the Society were at times in charge of secular priests under their appointment. It is not impossible that secular priests may have been similarly employed by them on the Maryland mission, but no evidence exists to justify a probable suspicion of any actual case.

Upon the accession of George II. to the throne of England in 1727, the Catholics of Maryland sent over a congratulatory address to the king, in testimony of their fidelity and duty.

This document is worth inserting, as one of the few documents in which the Catholics of the province, as a body, addressed the throne.

There is no reason to doubt their sincerity, as the Lords Baltimore and the Maryland Catholics had not been especially favored by James II., and had never taken any active part or shown any open sympathy in the attempts made by his son to regain the throne.

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

"The humble address of the Roman Catholics of the Province of Maryland.

"Most Gracious Sovereign:

"We your Majesty's most dutiful subjects the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the Province of Maryland, under the government of the Lord Baltimore, Lord and Proprietary thereof, out of our true and unfeigned sense of Gratitude for the great clemency and goodness of your late Royal Father

in the ministry was outside of Maryland. He was in that province in 1699–1700. "Archives Prov. Neo-Eb. Maryland S.J."

[1] Treacy, "Catalogue of our Missionary Fathers," Woodstock Letters, xv., p. 91; "Regist. F F. Min. Prov. Angliæ," p. 210.

toward us, humbly beg leave to express to your Majesty the share we bear with the rest of your Majesty's subjects in the general grief of the British Empire on the death of our late most gracious sovereign, and as we have the same happiness with them to see your Majesty peaceably succeed to the crown of your great Father, we humbly beseech your Majesty to give us leave to join with them in our hearty congratulations and in all humility we beg your Majesty's gracious acceptance of our constant allegiance and duty according to our utmost capacity in this remote part of your Majesty's Dominions and we humbly hope by our Loyalty and a steady and constant adherence to our duty to deserve some share in that tender concern your Majesty has been so graciously pleased to express for all your subjects. We are

"May it Please your Majesty, your Majesty's most dutiful Subjects and Servants."

This address was presented by Lord Baltimore, who at the time held a position at Court.

The centenary of the settlement of Maryland did not pass unnoticed. A "Carmen Seculare" was addressed to Lord Baltimore by a Mr. Lewis, of which, however, only an extract was printed. The poet thus speaks of Cecilius, the second Lord:

"Maturest wisdom did his act inspire,
Which ages must with gratitude admire,
By which the Planters of his land were freed
From feuds that made their native country bleed!
Religious feuds which in an evil hour,
Were sent from hell poor mortals to devour!
Oh! be that rage eternally abhor'd
Which prompts the worshippers of one mild Lord,
For whose salvation one Redeemer died,
By wars their orthodoxy to decide!
Falsely religious human blood to spill
And for God's sake their fellow-creatures kill!
Horrid pretence!

Long had this impious zeal with boundless sway,
Most direful urged o'er half the earth its sway,
Tyrannic on the souls of men to prey!
'Til great Cecilius, glorious Hero, broke
Her bonds, and cast away her yoke!
What praise, oh! Patriot, shall be paid to thee!
Within thy province, Conscience first was free
And gained in Maryland its native Liberty."[1]

This laudation of the spirit of religious liberty which animated Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, would not have been addressed to his successor had he been in sympathy with the spirit of persecution then dominant in Maryland.

When, in 1733, Charles I., Lord Baltimore, came over in person to assume the government of the province and adjust the border disputes which had long existed with the neighboring colony of Pennsylvania, the Catholics addressed him and again renewed the expression of their loyalty and fidelity to the ruling dynasty.

Though he had abandoned their communion, Lord Baltimore could not but bear testimony to their loyalty. "I thank you," he says in his reply, "for your kind address and cannot but be in a particular manner pleased with that dutiful regard which you express for his Majesty and the royal family, the continuance of which, will always secure to you my favour and protection."[2]

All this helped the Catholics in darker days to show that when men's minds were not heated by prejudice and passion, none thought of ascribing to them any conduct incompatible with their duties as subjects and colonists.

The forty pounds of tobacco per poll granted to each

[1] "Gentleman's Magazine," December, 1737. A note refers to the famous Act allowing Liberty of Conscience and punishing the use of opprobrious names.

[2] Rev. George Hunter, "A Short Account," etc.

clergyman of the Established Church from every one in his parish proved most disastrous. They became tobacco dealers, and incurred the hatred of all classes, while all the efforts of their superiors failed to make the Maryland clergy of the Establishment worthy of the respect of their own flock. A historian of that body says, under date of 1734: "The papists did not fail to take advantage of the trouble in the church of which we have spoken. The number of their priests, most of whom were Jesuits, greatly multiplied, and they had several places of worship in different parts of the province; indeed, in some parts, they were more numerous than the protestants. They flattered themselves that they were about to acquire the ascendancy, as under the administration of Governor Calvert, many of them had been put into offices of honor and profit which they still retained. Most diligent were the priests also in distributing pamphlets among the people, the object of which was to maintain the Church of Rome; and in all cases when a female of the Romish communion intermarried with a protestant, it was customary to make a previous contract that all the daughters of the marriage should be educated as papists. By thus securing the future mothers of the country, the priests felt that they had very quietly accomplished, what has ever been with them the great end, of directing the early education of the country. Their prospects were certainly never more promising than at this time, for in some counties they were compared with the protestants, in the proportion of three to one: throughout the province, however, the latter were the more numerous body."[1]

In Pennsylvania there is no notice of any priestly service for the Catholics from 1708 to 1729, at which time, accord-

[1] Hawks, "Contributions," ii., p. 221.

ing to a tradition recorded by Watson, there was a Catholic chapel near the city of Philadelphia. "At that time Elizabeth McGawley, an Irish lady and single, brought over a number of tenantry and with them settled on the land (now Miss Dickinson's) on the road leading from Nicetown to Frankford. Connected with her house (now standing opposite Gaul's place) she had the said chapel." [1]

Bernard U. Campbell records in the following words a tradition ascribed to Archbishop Neale, who, while serving in Philadelphia, had opportunities of hearing accounts from aged Catholics:

"The Superior of the Jesuits in Maryland having been informed that there were many Catholics in the capital of Pennsylvania, resolved to endeavor to establish a mission there. The priest designed for this duty had an acquaintance in Lancaster of the name of Doyle, whom he visited and requested to furnish him the name of some respectable Catholic in Philadelphia. Being referred to a wealthy old lady remarkable for her attachment to the ancient faith, he waited on her in the garb of a Quaker, and after making inquiries about the various denominations of Christians in the city, asked first if there were any Catholics, and finally, if she was one; to which she answered in the affirmative. He informed her that he also was of the same communion. Being informed that the Catholics had no place of worship, he desired to know, if they would wish to have a church. To which the lady replied, they would most certainly, but the great difficulty would be to find a clergyman; for although there were priests in Maryland, it was impossible to procure one from thence. He then informed the lady that he was a priest and of the intention of his visit. Overjoyed

[1] Watson, "Annals of Philadelphia," i., p. 453.

at the sight of a priest after many years' privation of that consolation, she communicated the intelligence to her Catholic acquaintance and invited them to meet him at her house. A considerable number assembled, the most of whom were Germans. The priest explained to them the object of his visit, and a subscription was immediately commenced to procure the means to purchase ground and build a church. With the money raised they purchased the house and lot belonging to the lady, who also acted very generously in promoting the pious undertaking." [1]

These two traditions seem to refer to the same chapel; a lady has mass at her house, and a chapel is raised by subscription. Archbishop Neale's statement cannot apply to St. Joseph's, which was begun some years later, on another plan, by a Jesuit Father purchasing land and rearing a house.

Mr. Thompson Westcott could find no documentary evidence to substantiate Watson's statement, no Miss McGawley appearing as a holder of land in that vicinity, and finding that a Catholic gentleman living near the place conveyed lands to Father Greaton in 1747, he says: "If there ever was any Roman Catholic Chapel near Nicetown, it must have been built on this ground bought by Father Greaton and after 1747." [2] But this is very illogical; a purchase of land in 1747 is perfectly compatible with the existence of a chapel on other ground in 1729.

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[1] Campbell, "Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll," U. S. C. M., iv., pp. 252–3. He does not tell how or where this was first recorded. It is presumed to refer to Father Greaton and St. Joseph's, but seems more properly to refer to the earlier chapel near Nicetown, which a lady is said to have had on her own ground. In those days there are frequent allusions to Catholics passing as Quakers, with how much foundation it is not easy to say. Perry, p. 202.

[2] 'History of Philadelphia."

According to Townsend Ward,[1] the Priests' Chapel was on Crump's land, north of the property owned by Dr. Brown. Watson cites the authority of Deborah Logan and Thomas Bradford, who remembered to have seen the ruins of such a chapel, and there is not the slightest documentary evidence or tradition to sustain the theory of a Catholic chapel on the ground conveyed to Father Greaton in 1747.[2]

As early as 1744 Father Schneider visited the Catholics near Frankford and Germantown, and was at the house of Doctor Brown, performing a baptism there, recording it in terms that show that his host was regarded as a person of some consequence.[3] There is evidence, therefore, that there were Catholic services in that vicinity before the deed of 1747.

A mystery hangs over another matter connected with the early mission in Pennsylvania. Sir John James, apparently of Heston, Middlesex, who was knighted September 12, 1670, established a fund of £4,000, which was held by the Vicar-Apostolic of London, and by his direction forty pounds a

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[1] "Pennsylvania Magazine of History," iv., p. 423.

[2] The statement of the tradition as to the chapel given by Watson was accepted by Bishop Kenrick, who wrote to B. U. Campbell in 1845 that it was "conformable to local tradition, although the inscription on the tombstone does not determine the priestly character of Brown. The Natives were so convinced of the fact that they mutilated the stone in the late riots." Campbell on this guarantee, and Bishop O'Connor in his Seminary Report, accepted it. Henry de Courcy accepted it and so gave it; and I cannot see that Mr. Westcott has disproved it, though he showed, what Father Schneider's Register shows, that Dr. Brown was a married man. Yet Mr. de Courcy has been assailed in his honored grave with brutal insult because he stated what Bishops Kenrick and O'Connor and Colonel Campbell had endorsed.

[3] "1744, 30 Apr.—in domo Dni Dris Brown Bapt. est Christiana nigra adulta, serva ejusdem Dris Brown, Patr. erant idem Dr. Brown et uxor ejus." Register of F. Schneider.

year were to be applied for the benefit of the poor Catholics of London, and the residue to support the Catholic missioners in Pennsylvania. It was regarded as annexed to the church in Lancaster, and for many years gave twenty pounds annually to four missions in Pennsylvania.[1]

The creation of the fund seems to have preceded the Pennsylvania missions of the Society of Jesus, no record of its commencement or founder appearing in any of the documents published by Mr. Henry Foley or preserved in the archives of the order in America. "I know nothing more of the generous founder," wrote Bishop Kenrick in 1845, "but this is certainly an evidence of zeal."[2]

That there were Catholics in the province in 1729 is evident from the fact that a boy, born in Pennsylvania September 22 in that year, John Royall, entered the Society of Jesus abroad, and died in England in 1770. He is probably the first native of Pennsylvania ordained to the priesthood.[3]

It is claimed, too, that mass was said about 1730 at the residence of Thomas Willcox, at Ivy Mills, Delaware County, the ancestor of a well-known Catholic family, and strangely enough the Willcoxes seem to have been related to Griffith Jones.

After this period of obscure beginnings of Catholicity in Pennsylvania, on which, it is to be hoped, some patient and thorough local investigator may in time throw light, we come to the more definite fact of the establishment of a congregation in Philadelphia which persists to this day.

From the station established at Bohemia, the Fathers of

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[1] Document in handwriting of Father George Hunter.

[2] Smyth, "Present State of the Catholic Mission," gives an absurd account of the origin of the fund, which he did not know to have been created in England and held by the Vicar-Apostolic.

[3] Foley, "Records of the English Province," vii., p. 674.

the Society of Jesus in Maryland in time extended their missions into the Province of Pennsylvania. Unfortunately no contemporaneous documents are known which record the name of the first missionary or the time and place where his services began.

When the Rev. John Carroll was appointed Prefect-Apostolic, he was directed by the Propaganda to send an account of the Church in the United States. He drew up a paper, as he himself states, "from very imperfect memoirs," and it, of course, contained many inaccuracies, for as most of his life had been spent in Europe, he had not enjoyed the opportunity of conversing with the older missionaries who had passed away during the quarter of a century of his absence. His statement, diffidently put forward by the illustrious author, is, however, the basis of nearly all that has since been written in regard to the Church in Philadelphia:

"About the year 1730 or rather later, F$^{r}$. Greaton, a Jesuit, (for none but Jesuits had yet ventured into the English colonies) went from Maryland to Philadelphia, and laid the foundations of that congregation, now so flourishing: he lived there till about the year 1750, long before which he had succeeded in building the old chapel, which is still contiguous to the presbytery of that town, & in assembling a numerous congregation, which at his first going thither, did not consist of more than ten or twelve persons. I remember to have seen this venerable man at the head of his flock in the year 1748. He was succeeded by the Rev. F$^{r}$. Harding, whose memory remains in great veneration; under whose patronage and through his exertions the present church of St. Mary's was built.

"In the year 1741 two German Jesuits were sent to Pennsylvania for the instruction and conversion of German Emigrants who from many parts of Germany had come into that

province. Under great hardships and poverty they began their laborious undertaking, which has since been followed by great benedictions. Their names were Fr. Schneider from Bavaria and Fr Wapeler, from the lower Rhine. They were both men of much learning & unbounded zeal. Mr. Schneider, moreover, was a person of great dexterity in business, consummate prudence and undaunted magnanimity. Mr. Wapeler having remained about eight years in America & converted or reclaimed many to the faith of Christ, was forced by bad health to return to Europe. He was the person who made the first settlement at the place now called Conewago. Mr. Schneider formed many congregations in Pennsylvania, built by his activity and exertions a noble church at Coshenhopen & spread the faith of Christ far and near. He was used to visit Philadelphia once a month for the sake of the Germans residing there, till it was at length found proper to establish there permanently a German priest as the companion of Fr. Harding. The person appointed was the venerable Fr. Farmer who had come from Germany some years before & had lived an apostolical life at Lancaster, in the same province of Pennsylvania. This event took place, I believe, about the year 1760 or rather later."[1]

No register, record, or report of Father Greaton exists to throw light on his ministry or fix the period when it began. Some papers are said to have existed down to recent times, but their character, antiquity, and contents are known only by recollection too vague to serve the historian.

That some priest acquired property near Walnut Street about 1734 is attested by a public act.

When the Provincial Council met on the 25th of July, 1734, Patrick Gordon, the Lieutenant-Governor, who pre-

[1] Account in the handwriting of Archbishop Carroll still preserved.

sided, informed the Board that "he was under no small concern to hear that a house, lately built on Walnut Street, in this city, had been set apart for the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, and is commonly called the Romish Chappel, where several persons, he understands, resort on Sundays to hear mass openly celebrated by a Popish priest; that he conceives the tolerating of the publick exercise of that religion to be contrary to the laws of England, some of which (particularly the eleventh and twelfth of King William the Third) are extended to all his Majesty's dominions. But those of that persuasion here, imagining they have a right to it from some general expressions in the charter of privileges, granted to the inhabitants of this Government by our late honorable Proprietor, he was desirous to know the sentiments of the Board on the subject."

It was observed, hereupon, that if any part of the said charter was inconsistent with the laws of England, it could be of no force, it being contrary to the express terms of the royal charter to the Proprietary. But the council having sat long, the consideration thereof was adjourned to the next meeting, and the said laws and charters were then ordered to be laid before the Board.

At the next meeting on the 31st of July, "it was questioned whether the said statute (11 & 12 William III., ch. 4), notwithstanding the general words in it, 'all others his Majesty's dominions,' did extend to the plantations in America, and admitting it did, whether any prosecution could be carried on here by virtue thereof, while the aforesaid law of this province, passed so long since as the fourth year of her late Majesty Queen Anne, which is five years posterior to the said statute, stands unrepealed. And under this difficulty of concluding upon anything certain in the present case, it is left to the Governor, if he thinks fit, to represent the matter

to our superiors at home, for their advice and directions in it."

The Catholics, however, do not seem to have been molested, as no law or proclamation issued against them.

Apparently on the statement of Archbishop Carroll, it is generally assumed that this house was erected by Father Joseph Greaton, and is said to have been on land purchased by him of John Dixon, south of Walnut Street and east of Fourth, May 15, 1733, but no deed is known to be in existence.

It is certain that prior to 1740 the Jesuit missionaries in Maryland had learned the condition, numbers, and residence of scattered Catholics in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Finding that many were Germans, application was evidently made through the Provincial in England to the Provincials of the Order in Germany for some zealous priests able to minister to their countrymen in the colony founded by William Penn. Several zealous and worthy priests responded to the call, and came over evidently with faculties from the Vicar-Apostolic of London. The first of these pioneers of the German priests in the United States was Father Theodore Schneider, who arrived in 1741. He was followed the next year by Father William Wapeler. In 1740–1 Pennsylvania appears in the records of the Society of Jesus as a distinct mission, under the title of Saint Francis Borgia, the saint who sent the first members of the Society of Jesus to Florida and Virginia. Father Joseph Greaton appears as the Superior of the new mission. The plan adopted in Maryland was pursued also in Pennsylvania. Lands were acquired by the missionaries with their own means, and held almost always in the name of Father Greaton, as his associates, generally Germans, being aliens, could not take title to land, and as

Catholics were excluded from naturalization as British subjects.[1]

Father Joseph Greaton, according to the most probable accounts, was born in London, February 12, 1679, and entered the Society of Jesus on the 5th of July, 1708. After making his solemn profession eleven years later, he was assigned to the Maryland mission[2] in 1721.[3] He was certainly for many years pastor of Saint Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, and Superior of the Pennsylvania missions. It is to be lamented that we have so little that is authentic in regard to the long labors of this one of the founders of the Pennsylvania mission.

Of the two German Jesuits who were his first auxiliaries, Father William Wapeler was a native of Neuen Sigmaringen, Westphalia, and was born January 22, 1711. He en-

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[1] Deeds to Father Greaton, therefore, do not show his presence. I have met a receipt dated May 4, 1752, acknowledging payment in full by Father Greaton on lands at Colebrookdale, Goshenhopen, and Hanover. If the letters appealing to the German provinces can be found they will undoubtedly contain a statement of the condition of the Catholics in Pennsylvania.

An Act of Parliament passed in 1740 (13th George II.), for naturalizing foreign Protestants and others therein mentioned, as are settled or shall settle in any of his Majesty's colonies in America, excluded from naturalization all, except Quakers and Jews, who did not receive communion in some Protestant or Reformed Church within three months before taking the oath and making the declaration.

[2] Foley, "Records of the English Province," vii., p. 313.

[3] Treacy, "Woodstock Letters," xv., pp. 93–4. In Mr. Foley's Tables, vii., p. cxxiii., there is no mention of Pennsylvania till "1740–1. Mission of Saint Francis Borgia, F. Joseph Greaton, Superior FF. 4," and iii., p. 396, he says: "We had opened a mission here about this year (1741), called Missio S. Fran. Borgiæ, Pennsylvaniæ." As a sign of Catholic progress we may note that complaint was made in 1741 that "a native Irish bigotted Papist was set up as schoolmaster at Chester" by the Quakers. Perry, pp. 216, 220.

tered the Society of Jesus at the age of seventeen.[1] Arriving in Pennsylvania in 1741, he founded the mission of the Sacred Heart at Conewago, by erecting a log-house. Early in 1742 he purchased some lots in Lancaster,[2] and began to erect a chapel there, for this building seems to have been recognized as a church from the very outset, and was dedicated to Saint John Nepomucene.[3] Of Father Wapeler's labors we have scanty notices. After a few years the severe work of the mission, the constant journeys, extending apparently beyond the Maryland frontier told on his health. His church at Lancaster perished by sacrilegious hands, Dec. 15, 1760, but the Catholics at once began to rebuild.[3] The authorities to their credit offered a reward for the incendiaries.[4]

As to Conewago we have less precise information. According to a statement in the history of a neighboring Protestant church, a party of German emigrants in 1734–5 passed a log mass-house near Conewago, but the statement seems vague. This district was settled under a Maryland grant of ten thousand acres by John Digges, in 1727, and

[1] Foley, "Records," vii., p. 813.

[2] The beginning of the Church in Lancaster is fixed by a letter of the Anglican minister, Rev. Richard Backhouse, June 14, 1742. "In Lancaster Town there is a Priest settled where they have bought some Lotts and are building a Mass-House, and another Itinerant Priest that goes back in y^e^ country. This is a just and faithful account, which I received last February in Lancaster Town from y^e^ Prothonotary and some of the principal Justices of the Peace for that county."

[3] The church is said to have been completed in 1762. "Popery has gained considerable ground in Pennsylvania of late years. The professors of that religion here are chiefly Germans, who are constantly supplied with missionarys from the Society of Jesus as they are pleased to style themselves. One of that order resides in this place, and had influence enough last summer to get a very elegant chapel of hewn stone erected in this Town." Thomas Barton to the Secretary, Lancaster, Nov. 8, 1762. Perry, p. 343.

[4] S. M. Sener, "An Ancient Parish," in "New Era."

some Catholics may have come in with the earliest colonists. The first mass is said to have been offered in the house of Robert Owings, on a slight elevation, about a quarter of a mile north of the present church of the Sacred Heart which occupies the site of Father Wapeler's humble chapel. Here by his zeal he converted and reclaimed many from sin and error.[1] Father Wapeler returned to Europe in 1748, and was apparently succeeded by Father Neale, who did not survive long, and by Father Sittensperger (Manners). Many of the English and Irish settlers above Pipe Creek, and most of the Germans, were Catholics at this time.[2]

Of the third of the early missioners in Pennsylvania, who is referred to (in an ancient obituary list of the Province, and in a manuscript of Father Farmer) as the founder of the missions in that colony, Father Theodore Schneider, we have more satisfactory knowledge. He was a native of the University city, Heidelberg, Germany, where he was born, April 7, 1703. He is said to have been Rector of the University, and professor of philosophy and polemics at Liège. His labors in Pennsylvania began in 1741, so that he renounced a brilliant future in the learned circles of his native land to devote the best years of his life to toilsome work among obscure emigrants in America.[3] His precious Register preserved at Goshenhopen is entitled, "Book of those Baptized, Married, and Buried, at Philadelphia, in Cushenhopen, Maxetani, Magunschi, Tulpehaken, etc. Begun Anno Domini 1741."

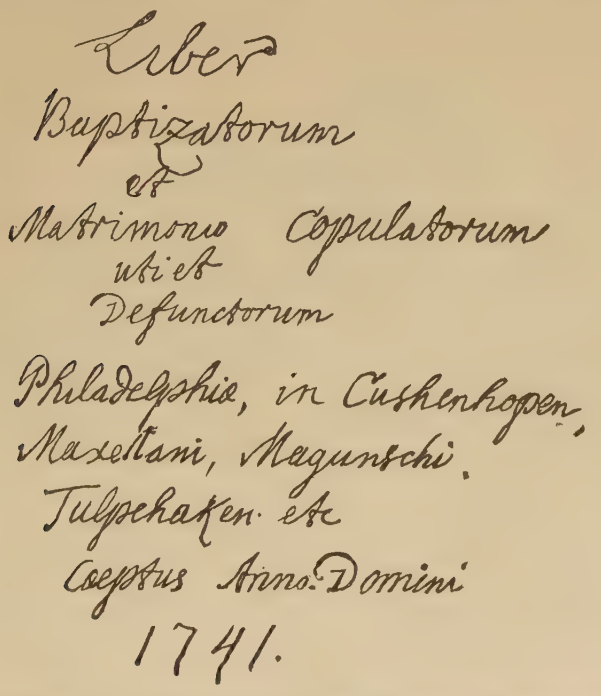
He was pastor of the German Catholics in Philadelphia

[1] Reily, "Conewago, A Collection of Catholic Local History," Martinsburg, 1885, pp. 44, 45. The oldest Register in Conewago begins half a century after the foundation of the mission.

[2] "Affidavit of Henry Cassells of Frederic County," May 30, 1751.

[3] Foley, "Records," vii., p. 691.

for many years, and his flock formed the majority of the faithful in that city; but besides this he visited the scattered Catholics through many parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, extending apparently into Delaware. The first entry records a baptism at the house of John Utzman in Falkner's


Liber
Baptizatorum
et
Matrimonio Copulatorum
ubi et
Defunctorum
Philadelphiæ, in Cushenhopen,
Maxetani, Magunschi.
Tulpehaken. etc
Cœptus Anno Domini
1741.

FAC-SIMILE OF THE TITLE OF FATHER SCHNEIDER'S REGISTER.

Swamp, now called Pottsgrove, near the famous Ringing Hill, in Berks County.[1] Then follows a marriage at Philadelphia "in sacello nostro," being undoubtedly the oldest official record of any ecclesiastical act in Saint Joseph's

[1] See Schoepf's "Travels through Berks County, 1783." Penn. Mag. of Hist., v. p. 81.

Church. Then we trace him to the Swedish settlements, to Bethlehem County, Germantown, and in the spring of 1742 to Cedar Creek, and a cheerless district, where some Catholics had settled, so utterly unproductive as to obtain the title of "Allemängel" or "Lackall."[1] Toward the close of the year he returned by way of Lebanon and North Wales to Philadelphia and Germantown. He soon, however, was in the Oley Hills, at Cedar Creek, New Furnace, and Maxetani, and in February, 1743, notes his coming to Cushenhopen, where he in time reared an humble house, rather a chapel for the Catholics of that district than a home for himself, though he never gives it the name of church or chapel. The land he purchased of Beidler, a Mennonist, who had fallen out with the Brotherhood, and to mortify them sold his property to a Catholic priest. At the last moment he demanded security, but Father Schneider at once handed over the full amount and took the deed.[2] Here he soon had a school.* In May he founded the mission at Haycock, celebrating the feast of the Holy Trinity in the house of Thomas Garden. Then we find him at Frankfort and his regular stations. Possessing medical skill, he travelled about as a physician, being thus enabled to avoid suspicion and danger. Laboring constantly to extend the benefit of his ministry to the poor miners and iron-workers, he crossed into New Jersey, and was at the house of Maurice Lorentz in August, 1743, and in October, at the Glass House[3] near Salem. The next year

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[1] Rupp, "History of the Counties of Berks and Lebanon," Lancaster, 1844, p. 122.

[2] Tradition recorded in a letter of Father Lekeu, February 11, 1824. Deeds of Ulrick Beidler to Francis Neale, 1747, for 122 acres; Thomas and Richard Penn to Joseph Greaton, 1752, for 373 acres 100 perches.

[3] Carkesse to Hill, July 31, 1740. "New Jersey Archives," vi., p. 98. Acton, "A short History of the Glass Manufacture in Salem

he repeated his visits to that colony, was at Branson's Iron Works, at the Glass House, and in June records a baptism in the house of Matthew Geiger, which in his time and his son Adam's, was periodically visited by Father Schneider, and later by Father Farmer.[1] Before the close of the summer Father Schneider began a mission at Bound Brook.

HOUSE OF MATTHEW AND ADAM GEIGER, SALEM CO., N. J., WHERE MASS WAS CELEBRATED FROM 1744.

The Church was, however, under the ban in New Jersey, for in the Instructions to Lewis Morris, Governor of that

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Co., N. J." Penn. Mag. of Hist., ix., p. 343. It was about a mile from Alloway. Shourds, "History of Fenwick's Colony," p. 360.

[1] This house, one of the earliest associated with Catholicity in New Jersey, is still standing, and I give an engraving from a photograph made for me. The old Registers of Father Schneider and Father Farmer enabled me to determine its proximity to Salem and Wister's Glass House. Investigation led to the house itself, still known in the neighborhood as one where Catholics held service in the olden time. A Mr. Adam Kijar, a descendant of the early Geigers, still resides in Salem. Father Farmer's first visit to it noted in his register is June 27, 1759.

colony in 1738, we read: "You are to permit a Liberty of Conscience to all Persons (except Papists)."[1]

In the next colony, New York, Catholicity was virtually extinct. The little body gathered there while James was in authority as Duke of York and King, had been scattered, and no indications are found of any Catholic residents. No priest visited the colony except some one brought in as a prisoner on a prize captured by a privateer. In the earliest New York newspapers, an examination of the files for several years gave only the following:

"Ran away the 18th August, 1733, from Jacobus Van Cortlandt of the city of New York, a negro man slave, named Andrew Saxton—the shirts he had with him and on his back are marked with a cross on the left breast. He professeth himself to be a Roman Catholic, speaks very good English."[2]

Some years after Backhouse, an Episcopal clergyman, speaking of the colony, wrote: "There is not in New York the least face of Popery."[3]

Somewhat later Leary, who kept a livery stable in Courtland Street and imported fine horses for officers and others, was one of the few avowed Catholics.

In the Carolinas and Georgia Catholicity was practically unknown, for though a statement is printed of a Catholic settlement in North Carolina, it seems evidently fictitious, nothing being found to support it.[4]

New England was, of course, closed to the Church. In

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[1] "New Jersey Archives," i., pp. vi, 38. Papists and Quakers had already been excluded from Liberty of Conscience in 1702. Stille, "Religious Tests," Penn. Mag. of Hist., ix., pp. 374–7.

[2] "New York Gazette," 1733.

[3] "Letter from Chester," June 26, 1748.

[4] In Bricknell, "History of North Carolina."

1631 Sir Christopher Gardner on suspicion of being a Papist was seized and sent out of Massachusetts; and when a minister in that year expressed the opinion that the Church of Rome was a true Church of Christ, the General Court denounced the opinion in a formal act. In 1647 a positive law enacted that all Jesuits should be forbidden to enter their jurisdiction. They were to be banished if they did, and put to death if they returned.[1]

Even in the days of James II., when the city of Boston gave the Catholic governor of New York and a Jesuit Father an escort of honor, few Catholics entered New England. A French Protestant Refugee, who was in Boston in 1687, wrote: "As for Papists, I have discovered since being here eight or ten, three of whom are French, and came to our church, and the others are Irish; with the exception of the Surgeon who has a family, the others are here only in Passage."[2]

During the border wars with Canada, New England prisoners taken to Canada in some cases became Catholics, and not unfrequently remained there. Those who returned to New England, however, almost always relapsed.

Such was the case of Christine Otis, who was brought up as a Catholic in Canada by her convert mother and married there. Left a widow she was won by Captain Thomas Baker, of Massachusetts, a commissioner sent to obtain a release of prisoners in that colony. Returning with him she became his wife, leaving her mother and a daughter in Canada. The Rev. Francis Seguenot, one of the Sulpitian priests at

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[1] "General Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts Colony," p. 67. It expressly, however, exempted from imprisonment any Jesuit shipwrecked on the coast.

[2] Fisher, "Report of a French Protestant Refugee," Brooklyn, 1868, p. 30. The Surgeon was apparently Dr. Le Baron.

Montreal, hearing that she had renounced the faith, addressed a long letter to her in June, 1727, urging her to repent and return. This letter seems to have attracted no little attention, as a translation was printed at Boston in 1729, with a reply which is ascribed to Governor Burnett. Seguenot's letter was undoubtedly the first argument on the Catholic side which had ever issued from the press of New England.[1]

The Church in the English colonies was then confined mainly to Maryland and Pennsylvania, with a few Catholics in Virginia and New Jersey.

While Catholicity was then struggling to secure a permanent foothold in Pennsylvania, the foreign relations and internal troubles of England had their effect on the position of Catholics in all the colonies. War broke out with Spain in 1739, and Spanish privateers menaced all the exposed places on the coast, and levies were made for expeditions against the colonies of the Catholic King in America. At the South, Oglethorpe aided by Carolina was actively engaged with the Spaniards in Florida.

A revival of anti-Catholic feeling was soon apparent. In 1740 or thereabouts the upper House in Maryland took ground against the Catholics, but in this instance the lower House showed a friendly disposition, and returned for answer, "that they were well assured that the few of those people here amongst us had it neither in their power or inclination to disturb the peace or safety of the Province."

Yet the Catholics had done nothing to give offence either to the Government or their Protestant neighbors. In an

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[1] "Letter from a Romish Priest in Canada, to one who was taken captive in her infancy, and instructed in the Romish faith, but some time ago returned to this her native country; with an answer thereto. By a person to whom it was communicated," Boston, 1729. See American Catholic Quarterly Review, vi., pp. 216–228.

address some years later they said: "From the year 1717 or 1718, to the year 1751, we were undisturbed, and though deprived of our rights and privileges, we enjoyed peace and quiet."

In New York the mad feeling against Catholics in 1741 caused the death of an unfortunate nonjuror Protestant clergyman. The misconduct of a few slaves had filled the minds of the people with the idea that a fire which destroyed in part the chapel in the fort of that city, was the result of a negro plot for the massacre of the whites and the destruction of the city. In the height of this excitement a letter arrived from General Oglethorpe, then hotly engaged with the Spaniards. He wrote warning the northern governments against Spanish spies, chiefly priests, who were to burn the principal towns and magazines. Although a white man named Hughson, with his wife, and one Peggy Carey, with many negroes, had already been convicted and executed for a supposed plot of which Hughson had been sworn to be the originator, Oglethorpe's letter set the authorities to find a priest. The unfortunate nonjuring Episcopal clergyman, Rev. John Ury, a mild, inoffensive man, who lived by teaching, was arrested and brought to trial as the chief conspirator, and also for being a Roman Catholic priest remaining in the province in violation of Bellomont's law. The second charge was, of course, only to increase odium against him. The witnesses who on the previous trials had made Hughson the arch conspirator and never alluded to Ury at all, now concocted an entirely new tale. Ury, like the rest of the accused, was not permitted to have any counsel. In spite of the glaring inconsistency of the witnesses and the weakness of the evidence against him, the jury, after hearing the invectives of the prosecutor and the violent charge of Judge Horsmanden, deliberated only fifteen minutes, and then

brought in a verdict of guilty. Ury was hanged on the 15th of August, 1741. Among those executed were several Spanish negroes, taken prisoners of war, who claimed to be free, but were sold as slaves. While the negroes brought up in the colony died without any sign of Christianity, the historian of the Negro Plot, Horsmanden himself, tells us that Juan, the Spanish negro, was "neatly dressed," "behaved decently, prayed in Spanish, kissed a crucifix, and died insisting on his innocence to the last."

Of his Catholicity there is no doubt: but Ury was evidently what he claimed to be, a nonjuror.[1]

Pennsylvania had receded somewhat from the broad ground of religious freedom assumed by William Penn. From 1693 to 1775 no one could hold even the most petty office in the province without taking an oath denying the Real Presence and declaring mass idolatrous. None but Protestants were allowed by the Act of 1730 to hold land for the erection of churches, schools, or hospitals, and as we have seen, none but Protestants could be naturalized. The efforts of the Pennsylvania governors and assemblies to enlarge the religious freedom were constantly thwarted by the home government. The Pennsylvania authorities, though they submitted, seem to have made the laws virtually inoperative in many cases. German Catholics certainly held lands and had churches, without any attempt to dispossess them. In 1746 Daniel Horsmanden complained that many of Zinzendorf's German "countrymen have for several years successively been imported into and settled in Pennsilvania, Roman Catholics as

[1] Horsmanden, "The New York Conspiracy, or a History of the Negro Plot," New York, 1744; "The New York Negro Plot of 1741," N. Y. Common Council Manual, 1870, p. 764; Chandler, "American Criminal Trials," Boston, 1844, i., p. 222. Ury's language is unmistakably Protestant in tone.

well as Protestants, without Distinction, where it seems by the Indulgence of the Crown, their Constitution granted by Charter, all Perswasions, Roman Catholicks as well as others, are tollerated the free Exercise of their Religion."

The Pennsylvania authorities went further. On their western frontier were Indians, more or less under French influence, who menaced the exposed settlements. They knew that the French influence was acquired at first by the zealous labors of Catholic priests, and they prudently resolved to avail themselves of the Jesuit Fathers in the province to win the favor of the native tribes.

The Senecas and other Western Indians were always well received at Philadelphia and encouraged to visit the Catholic missionaries. "When any of them come to Philadelphia," wrote Count Zinzendorf in 1743, "they go to the Popish chapel to Mass." The famous Madame Montour, wife of an Oneida chief, and on many occasions interpreter for the English, came to Philadelphia in her own carriage, and on one of the visits had her granddaughter baptized at Saint Joseph's.[1]

Jesuit Fathers, evidently by the wish and in the interest of the Pennsylvania government, attended conferences with the Indians. The Superior of the Maryland mission, Father Richard Molyneux, was with the Indians at Lancaster, just before the treaty made there in June and July, 1744. As the Pennsylvanians did not venture to avow their policy, this visit subjected Father Molyneux to suspicion in Maryland.[2]

[1] Reichel, "Memorials of the Moravian Church," i., pp. 120, 99.

[2] "It is certain that about a fortnight before our treaty with y^e^ Six Nations of Indians at Lancaster, Father Molyneux y^e^ principal of our Jesuits was with them and there is good reason to suspect that he went as an agent for y^e^ French, and that his business was no other than to dissuade y^e^ Indians from making peace w^th^ us." "Maryland Memorial to the Earl of Halifax."

In that province, notwithstanding the general hostility of the legislature and the dominant church, Catholicity held its own, and succeeded in establishing a seat of learning, the fame of which is still preserved.

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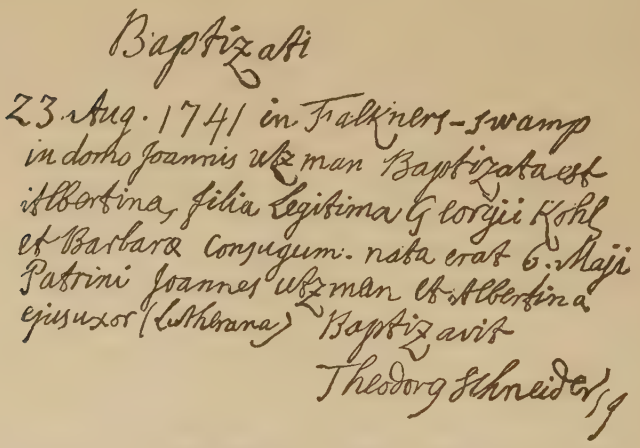
Father Richard Molyneux was born in London March 26, 1696, and after mission services in England was sent to Maryland in 1733. Having been Superior of the Mission in 1736 and again in 1743, he returned to England in 1749. He enjoys the honor of having been arraigned for his faith before a civil tribunal. He died at Bonham, England, May 18, 1766. "Woodstock Letters," xv., 94–97; Foley, "Records," vii., p. 514.



FAC-SIMILE OF FIRST ENTRY IN FATHER SCHNEIDER'S REGISTER.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE CHURCH IN THE COLONIES, 1745–1755.

The war between England and France, which began in 1744, however, greatly inflamed the minds of the Protestant colonists against the Catholics. The French in Canada menaced the English colonies, and Indians in their interest lay on their frontiers from Lake Ontario to the Tombigbee. Catholics were believed by the prejudiced colonists to be ready to join the French against their countrymen, although there were no facts or examples to sustain the prevalent opinion.

When Charles Edward in 1745 raised his standard in Scotland and endeavored to regain for his father the throne of England, every Catholic in the colonies was believed to be a Jacobite and ready to commit any atrocity on his neighbors. The Catholics could only show by their conduct that the suspicions of their merciless persecutors were groundless.

The mission at Bohemia prospered, and offered such advantages of seclusion, and such a ready means of removing beyond the reach of Maryland's persecuting laws, should any necessity arise, that it was decided to remove to it the academy which the Jesuit Fathers had maintained whenever it was possible.[1]

[1] Young people were sent from Maryland to Catholic schools in England, as well as to those on the continent. "Present State of Popery in England," London, 1733, p. 19.

The classical school at Bohemia was opened in 1745 or the following year, under the supervision of Father Thomas Poulton, who joined the Maryland mission in 1738, and from 1742 to the commencement of 1749 was in charge at Bohemia. The terms for education at this early academy were £40 per annum for those who studied the classics and £30 for those who did not. Peter Lopez, Daniel Carroll, Edward Neale, and others sent their sons to this Catholic seat of learning. Among the earliest known pupils were Benedict and Edward Neale, James Heath, Robert Brent, Archibald Richard, and "Jacky Carroll," a future archbishop of Baltimore. The highest number of pupils did not apparently exceed forty. "Bohemia seems to have been for a long period in the early history of the American Church the Tusculum of the Society of Jesus."

Father John Kingdon and Father Joseph Greaton were subsequently at Bohemia, and we can see from hostile sources that the academy was accomplishing a good work. It would be consoling to state that this early seat of learning had survived to our day; but every vestige of it has disappeared, although it is well known that it stood on the lawn, a few feet south of the manse, and that the bricks that composed its walls were used in 1825 in erecting the dwelling-house.[1]

In 1760 a Protestant clergyman in Delaware wrote that "there was a very considerable Popish Seminary in the neighboring Province of Maryland," and that "this Seminary is under the direction of the Jesuits."[2]

The Protestant rector of St. Stephen's parish, near the Jesuit Academy, was a Rev. Hugh Jones, who regarded his neighbors with no favorable eye. In 1739 he wrote to the

[1] "Bohemia" in "Woodstock Letters," vi., pp. 4–5, xiv., p. 354; B. U. Campbell in "U. S. Cath. Mag.," 1844, p. 34.

[2] Perry, p. 313.

Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for books: "Since the Jesuits in my parish with them they favored and settled in Philadelphia seem to combine our ruin by propagation of schism, popery and apostacy in this neighborhood, to prevent the danger of which impending tempest, 'tis hoped you will be so good as to contribute your extensive charitable benevolence, by a set of such books of practical and polemical divinity and church history as you shall judge most suitable for the purpose."[1]

The apparent prosperity of the Jesuits at Bohemia did not render him more charitable. In 1745 he preached a sermon, which he published in the "Maryland Gazette" at Annapolis, as "A Protest against Popery."

The Jesuit Fathers really had circulating libraries at their missions and encouraged the reading of good books. Memoranda exist as to loans of volumes, and Father Attwood, in a letter to England, ordered a list of standard books for one of his flock.[2]

Yet bravely as the clergy were struggling to meet the wants of their flock, Catholics were liable at any moment to arrest. Thus in the "Annapolis Gazette" of March 25, 1746, we read:

"Last week some persons of the Romish Communion, were apprehended, and upon examination, were obliged to give security for their appearance at the Provincial Court."

The temper of the times may be seen in the following proclamation of the Governor of Maryland:

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[1] Letter July 30, 1739.

[2] "Woodstock Letters," xiii., p. 72. The order of Father Attwood included the "Rheims Testament," Parson's "Three Conversions," "Catholic Scripturist," "Touchstone of the Reformed Gospell," the Whole "Manual," with Mass in Latin and English.

"A PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas I have received certain information, that several Jesuits and other Popish priests and their emissaries have presumed of late, especially since the unnatural rebellion broke out in Scotland, to seduce and pervert several of his Majesty's Protestant subjects from their religion, and to alienate their affections from his Majesty's royal person and government, altho' such practises are high treason, not only in the priests or their emissaries who shall seduce and pervert, but also in those who shall be seduced or perverted. I have therefore thought fit, with the advice of his Lordship's Council of State to issue this my Proclamation, to charge all Jesuits and other Popish priests and their emissaries to forbear such traitorous practises, and to assure such of them as shall dare hereafter to offend, that they shall be prosecuted according to law. And all magistrates within this province are hereby strictly required and charged, when and as often as they shall be informed, or have reason to suspect, of any Jesuit or other Popish priests, or any of their emissaries, offending in the premises, to issue a warrant or warrants against such offender or offenders to take his or their examinations, and the examinations or depositions of the witnesses against them; and if need be, commit such offender or offenders to prison, until he or they shall be delivered by due course of law. And I do hereby strictly charge and require the several Sheriffs of this province to make this my Proclamation public in their respective counties, in the usual manner, and as they shall answer the contrary at their peril.

"Given at the City of Annapolis, this 3d day of July, Annoque Domini, 1746. T. BLADEN."[1]

[1] "Maryland Gazette," July 22, 1746.

It is interesting to know who were the terrible Jesuits against whom Maryland Protestantism and Maryland brains were so ineffectual. They were Fathers Richard Molyneux, Thomas Poulton in his Bohemia school, Vincent Phillips, Robert Harding, James Farrar, Arnold Livers, Thomas Digges, Benedict Neale, James Ashbey, and James Le Motte. Jones' "Protest against Popery," and Bladen's Proclamation do not seem to have alarmed these good Fathers. Some one of them prepared an answer to Jones' "Protest against Popery"; of course no printer would have dared to issue it from his press, and accordingly it was circulated in manuscript. It leaked out that there was such a paper, and Jones was unhappy. He relieved his mind by inserting the following advertisement in a newspaper:

"To the Jesuits established in Maryland and Pennsylvania.

"Learned Sirs:

"Imagining myself principally concerned in the applauded answer to my Protest against Popery, that has been handed about by some of you in these parts, I have used all means in my power to procure one; in order for which I applied to the gentleman on whom it is fathered, but he having in a very handsome manner disowned it, I presume I may be excused from making this my public request, that some one of you would vouchsafe to transmit me one of the books, that I may rejoin to any sophistical fallacies or sarcastical falsehoods (those usual tropes of St. Omer) that I hear this smart performance (as your friends call it) abounds with; assuring you that any assertions of mine that it truly demonstrates to be erroneous, shall readily be recanted. Your compliance with my request will confer a great favor on,

"Learned Gentlemen, Your humble servant,

"Bohemia, Sept. 15, 1746." [1] "H. Jones.

[1] "Maryland Gazette," Dec. 2, 1746.

Among those arrested about this time, was the Superior of the Maryland mission, Father Richard Molyneux, a native of London, who had been in America from 1733, and been twice placed at the head of the Fathers laboring in this country. He had shown his zeal for the public good by using his influence with the Indians at Lancaster. The proceedings against him cannot be found in the Maryland archives, and there is no Catholic record known. In a document of the time strongly opposing the Catholics the affair is referred to in these terms:

"In y^e^ time of y^e^ Rebellion this same F^r^ Molyneux was taken up for treasonable practises, being carried before y^e^ Provincial Court. He was so conscious of his guilt that he begged for liberty to leave the Province: the Judge, however, resolving to make an example of him, in order to get the fittest and clearest evidence of y^e^ facts, postponed the affair for a few days, but Mr. Carroll, a Popish Gent^n^, having bailed him out, the Council called Mr. Molyneux before themselves, and having examined him privately, discharged him without any public mark of resentment."[1]

The panic spread to Virginia, which trembled, as its colonists read on walls and fences such proclamations as this:

"VIRGINIA, *ss.*:

"*By the Hon. William Gooch, Esqr., His Majesty's Lieutenant Governor, and Commander-in-Chief of this Dominion.*

"A PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas it has been represented to me in Council, that several Roman Catholic priests are lately come from Mary-

[1] "Memorial to the Earl of Halifax." He undoubtedly convinced the Maryland Council that he was really carrying out the wishes of the Pennsylvania authorities.

land to Fairfax county in this Colony, and are endeavouring by crafty Insinuations, to seduce his Majesty's good subjects from their Fidelity and Loyalty to his Majesty, King George, and his Royal House; I have therefore thought fit, with the advice of His Majesty's Council, to issue this Proclamation, requiring all Magistrates, Sheriffs, Constables, and other His Majesty's Liege People, within this colony, to be diligent in apprehending and bringing to Justice the said Romish Priests, or any of them, so that they may be prosecuted according to law.

"Given under my hand in the Council Chamber in Williamsburg, this 24th day of April in the Nineteenth Year of his Majesty's Reign.

"WILLIAM GOOCH.

"God Save the King."

Some Catholic families had settled on the southern shore of the Potomac at Aquia Creek and above it, and priests ministering to this remote portion of their flock entered Virginia from time to time.

Virginia seemed loth to be outdone by her sister colony, and had also placed on her statute-books a series of penal laws against the Catholics which are unparalleled in history. They began in January, 1641, when a Popish recusant was forbidden to hold office under a penalty of a thousand pounds of tobacco. The next year an act required every priest to leave Virginia on five days notice. Another statute of 1661 required all persons to attend the service of the Established Church under a penalty of £20. In 1699 Popish recusants were deprived of the right to vote, and when the act was subsequently re-enacted, the fine for voting in defiance of law was five hundred pounds of tobacco. An act of 1705 made Catholics incompetent as witnesses, and when this fear-

ful act was renewed in 1753, it was extended to all cases whatever.[1] Not even England herself sought to crush, humble, and degrade the Catholic as Virginia did; he was degraded below the negro slave, for though the negro, mulatto, or Indian, could not be a witness against a white person, a Catholic could not be put on the stand as a witness against white man or black, the most atrocious crime could with impunity be committed in the presence of a Catholic on his wife or child, whom he was made powerless to defend, and his testimony could not be taken against the murderer.[2]

In the year 1750 a quarrel between two private gentlemen set all Maryland aflame, and enkindled the most bitter anti-Catholic movement known in the annals of the country.

Charles Carroll, barrister and father of the future signer, and Dr. Charles Carroll, who had abandoned the Catholic faith, were co-trustees of an estate, the legatees of which were priests. The Catholic trustee wished to close up the estate, and was ready to account. He called upon his co-trustee to hand in his accounts and pay the amount in his hands. Dr. Carroll offered a small sum to compromise the matter, but the Catholic said that it was a matter of accounting, not of compromise. On this the dishonest trustee intimated that he would resort to the penal laws, and he actually endeavored to have the Act of 11–12 William III. enforced in Maryland, so as to prevent the legatees from compelling him to account. How honorable Protestants could have lent their aid to so disgraceful a plot is inexplicable, but they took the matter

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[1] Hening's "Statutes at Large," i., p. 268; ii., p. 48; iii., p. 172, 238, 299; vi., p. 338. In 1652 the Commissaries of the Commonwealth ordered "Irish women to be sold to merchants and shipped to Virginia," but I can find no traces of them in that colony.

[2] "Acts of Assembly now in Force in the Colony of Virginia," Williamsburg, 1769, pp. 300–333.

up warmly, and an act passed the lower House. By its provisions every priest convicted of exercising his functions was to suffer perpetual imprisonment; and all persons educated in or professing the Popish religion, who did not within six months after attaining the age of eighteen take the oath of supremacy and make the declaration prescribed, were disabled from taking any property by inheritance.[1]

Though this bill failed to pass the upper House and reach the governor for his sanction, the House of Delegates, addressing Governor Ogle, said: "We see Popery too assiduously nurtured and propagated within this Province as well by the professors thereof as their teachers, preventing and withdrawing many of his Majesty's Protestant subjects both from our holy religion and their faith and allegiance to his Majesty's royal person, crown and family.

"That y^e^ number of Jesuits or popish priests now within this province and yearly coming in together with the established settlements they have here and several youths sent from hence to St. Omers and other popish foreign seminaries out of his Majesty's obedience to be trained up in ways destructive to the Establishment of Church and State in his Majesty's dominions, some of whom return here as Popish priests or Jesuits together with others of like kind who live in societies where they have Publick Mass Houses and with great industry propagate their Doctrines, will if not timely prevented endanger y^e^ Fundamental Constitution of our Church as well as the peace of this government."

The fanatics, who wished to keep Catholics in ignorance, accordingly introduced a bill, which, in the legal verbiage of

[1] Father George Hunter, "A Short Account of y^e^ State and Condition of y^e^ Rom. Cath, in y^e^ Prov^e^. of Maryland." That Dr. Charles was brought up a Catholic and became a Protestant is stated in the "Maryland Gazette," October 2, 1755.

the day, was entitled, "An Explanatory Act to y^e^ act entitled an Act to repeal a certain Act of Assembly entitled an Act to prevent the Growth of Popery." It passed the lower House, but was laid on the table in the upper House. The lower House remonstrated, but the upper House declined to act upon the bill on account of the "great penalties and incapacities" it contained.

The Catholics then addressed the upper House to thank them, and in their petition they say: "That several malicious Lies and Groundless Clamours continuing still to be spread against us, among others, that persons of the Roman Catholick persuasion had misbehaved in such a manner in some counties as to give his Majesty's loyal subjects just cause to fear an insurrection, and further it was intimated that some Roman Catholick priests of this Province had been lately absent from their usual Place of Residence a considerable time," and they proceed to state that "orders had been sent out to bind over such turbulent Catholicks and to arrest any such priests, but that not a single definite charge had been made against any Catholic priest or layman."

Most of the Catholics in Maryland at that time resided in St. Mary's and Charles Counties, and the magistrates of the former, replying to the governor a few years later, not only declared the charges against the Catholics unfounded, but added: "We are not yet informed who have been the Authors of those reports mentioned in your Excellency's letter which have been in some places so industriously spread, if we should discover them, we would take proper measures for their being brought to justice, as enemies to their country's peace and friends to a faction who labour to foment animosities among us to the endangering our common security."[1]

[1] Petition of sundry Roman Catholics.

And the governor expressly said: "The Magistrates assure me that after a careful inquiry and scrutiny into the conduct of the people of the Romish faith, who reside among us, they have not found that any of them have misbehaved or given just cause of offence."

The attack on the Catholic body was all the more ungenerous because they responded generously when the legislature failed to provide for the protection of the frontiers against the French, and a subscription for that purpose was set on foot. The petition says boldly: "The Roman Catholics were not the men who opposed this subscription, on the contrary they countenanced it, they promoted it, they subscribed generously and paid their subscriptions."

It was apparently while the future of Catholicity looked so dark that about 1747 the missioners in Maryland purchased a tract of 127 acres on Deer Creek, near a spot still called Priest's Ford, in Harford County. Here they established the mission of Saint Joseph, and erected a house such as the laws then permitted, embracing a chapel under the roof of the priest's house. The first missionary stationed here of whom we have any note was the Rev. Benedict Neale in 1747, and he was probably the one who erected the building which is still standing, and which was referred to about the time we mention as "Priest Neale's Mass House."[1] The building has passed out of Catholic hands, but remains unaltered, and the graveyard where the faithful were interred has been respected by the present owners.

The building stands on an eminence and is a long one of stone, giving room for a chapel, which is now the kitchen. The walls are of great strength and solidity, nearly three feet thick, and the roof and woodwork seem to have been made

[1] Examination of William Johnson, 1756. "Woodstock Letters," xv., p. 55.

of most durable and well-seasoned wood. A room below at one end was the reception-room, above it the priest slept, most of the interior being devoted to the chapel.[1]

But the enemies of the Maryland Catholics had not abandoned their hostile measures. They passed through the lower House an act laying a double tax on the unfortunate class. So alarmed were the Catholics at the passage by the lower

ST. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL HOUSE, DEER CREEK, HARFORD CO., MD.
FROM A SKETCH BY GEO. A. TOWNSEND.

House of this act, that they resolved to appeal to the king himself, and the following petition was drawn up:

"To the King's most excellent Majesty:

"The humble petition of the merchants trading in Maryland, in the name and behalf of their correspondents who are Roman Catholics.

"Humbly sheweth:

"That the province of Maryland was granted to Cæcilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholick:

"That the propagation of the Christian religion was one

[1] In the early part of this century the place was sold, and St. Ignatius' Church at Hickory erected for the benefit of the Catholics in those parts.

of the motives for granting the said province to the said Lord Baltimore.

"That all persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ were invited into the said province.

"That in order to encourage all persons believing in Jesus Christ to settle in the said Province an Act of Assembly was passed in the said Province in the year 1640, entitled an Act concerning Religion, by which Act amongst other things it was enacted that no person in the said province should be disturbed for or on account of religion.

"That an Act of Assembly hath lately passed in the said Province entitled an Act for granting a supply of £40,000 to your Majesty, etc., by which the lands of all Roman Catholicks are double taxed.

"We therefore humbly beg leave to represent to your Majesty our fears that this and other hardships laid on the Roman Catholicks in the said Province may oblige them to remove into the dominions of the French or Spaniards in America, where they will cultivate Tobacco and rival our Tobacco Colonys in that valuable branch of Trade to the great detriment of the Trade of your Majesty's Kingdoms.

"Wherefore your Petitioners humbly pray that taking the Premisses into consideration, your Majesty will be graciously pleased to afford such Relief as to your Majesty shall seem fit."

What a strange fact! that a quarter of a century before the Revolution, the Catholics of Maryland were compelled to appeal to the English throne for protection against the intolerance and tyranny of their Protestant fellow-subjects in that Province.

The war on the Catholics in Maryland had become by this time so unrelenting, that a general desire prevailed to abandon the province which they had planted. Many of those

who owned property, seeing it daily wrung from them by double taxes, by the money extorted for the support of the state clergy and under other pretexts, determined to emigrate. Charles Carroll, the father of the future signer of the Declaration of Independence, actually proceeded to Europe in 1752, as the representative of the oppressed Catholics of Maryland to lay their sad case before the King of France. It was not a time when a sense of faith or chivalry prevailed in that court. Carroll asked the French minister of state to assign to the Maryland Catholics a large tract of land on the Arkansas River, as unwise a selection as he could well have made. But when he pointed it out upon the map, the minister, startled at the extent of the proposed cession, threw difficulties in the way, and Mr. Carroll left France without being able to effect anything in his project for securing a new home for the victims of Protestant intolerance and oppression.[1]

The excitement against the followers of the true faith and their devoted clergy did not die out in Maryland. The House of Delegates in 1754 addressed Governor Sharpe, asking him in view of "the impending dangers from the growth of Popery, and the valuable and extensive possessions of Popish priests and Jesuits," to "put into all places of trust and profit none but tried Protestant subjects." To this the governor replied, "that his concurrence should not be wanting to any measures looking to the safety of his Majesty's good Protestant subjects."[2]

It was even discussed in the papers whether all the property in the hands of the Jesuits ought not to be seized and applied to the establishment of a college, and laws enacted to prevent Catholics from sending their children abroad to

[1] B. U. Campbell, "U. S. Cath. Magazine," 1844, p. 40.

[2] "Maryland Gazette," March 14, 1754.

obtain an education.'[1] A bill introduced by the Committee on Grievances passed the lower House. Its object was to create a commission to inquire into the affairs of the Jesuits in the Colony, and also to ascertain by what tenure they held their land. They were also enjoined to tender the oaths of allegiance, abhorrence, and abjuration to members of the Society. The bill was, however, rejected by the upper House.

Catholics were next charged with obstructing the raising of his Majesty's levies, and Governor Sharpe issued a proclamation on the 30th of May, offering a reward for the arrest of two persons named. The Legislature in the same spirit passed a law to check the too great immigration of Irish servants, being Papists.[2]

With all the offices, all the legislative, executive, and judicial power in their hands, with a State church supported by taxes levied on Catholics and plate bought with money arising from the sale of mulatto infants and their mothers,[3] with a virulent newspaper press, and vehement pulpit orators, the Protestants in Maryland could not hold their own. One newspaper writer asks:

"Does Popery increase in this Province? The great number of popish chapels, and the crowds that resort to them, as well as the great number of their youth sent this year to foreign popish seminaries for education, prove to a demonstration that it does. Moreover, many popish priests and Jesuits hold sundry large tracts of land, manors, and other

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[1] Richard Brooke in "Maryland Gazette." May 16, 1754.

[2] "Maryland Gazette," May 30, Aug. 5, 1754; "New York Gazette," June 24, 1754.

[3] Gambrall, "Church Life in Colonial Maryland," Baltimore, 1885, pp. 72, 125.

tenements, and in several of them have dwelling-houses where they live in a collegiate manner, having public Mass-Houses, where they exercise their religious functions, etc., with the greatest industry, and without controul." [1]

One of the last efforts against the Catholic body was the introduction of an act in the lower House at the session of 1755, intended to prevent the "importation of Germans and French papists and Popish priests and Jesuits, and Irish papists *via* Pennsylvania, or the Government of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on the Delaware." But it failed to find a place among the statutes of Maryland.

Of the feeling toward Catholics on the Potomac at this time, and especially toward their clergy, we have an instance in a paper by the famous Daniel Dulany, written at Annapolis, December 9, 1755. "One of our (Maryland) priests had like to have fallen into the hands of the army, when the troops were at Alexandria, and if he had, I believe he would have been hanged as a spy. The man had been sauntering about in the camp, and some one from Maryland whispered that he was a priest. This was soon noised about, and the priest thinking himself not very safe on the south side of the Potomack, made all the haste he could to a boat which was waiting for him, and had but just put off when he discovered a party of soldiers running to the place where the boat had waited for him. The officer who commanded the party called to the boatsmen to return, but the priest prevailed upon them to make all the expedition they could to the opposite shore. Something ought to be done in regard to these priests, but the present heat and ferment of the times are such that nothing short of a total extermination of them, and an absolute confiscation of all their estates will be heard

[1] "Maryland Gazette," Oct. 17, 1754.

of with temper, and that the Romish laity might be laid under some restraints in the education of their children is greatly to be wished, but all moderate and reasonable propositions for this end would now be at once rejected." [1]

In Pennsylvania the decade from 1745 to 1755 was marked by progress. Beside the lot on Walnut Street on which St. Joseph's church had been erected, a lot adjoining it, and facing on Willing's alley, was obtained by Father Robert Harding by deed of June 5, 1752, being forty-eight on the alley by forty feet in depth. Kalm, in his Travels, mentions that the Catholics had a great house, well adorned with an organ, so that the original structure had evidently been enlarged.

Father Greaton had closed his laborious pastorship at Saint Joseph's, with which his name had been so long identified. His associate, Father Henry Neale, who had been at Conewago and Philadelphia for several years, died in the latter city in 1748, and he himself retired two years afterward to Bohemia, where he died piously August 19, 1753, Father John Lewis officiating at his requiem.

Rev. Robert Harding, S.J., was born in Nottinghamshire, England, October 6, 1701, and entering the Society of Jesus at the age of 21, was sent to Maryland in 1732. Selected about 1750 to succeed Father Greaton in Philadelphia, he was for more than twenty years rector of St. Joseph's. He identified himself with the people, devoted himself to his own flock, and in his large heart found sympathy for every good work. He was one of the earliest to encourage the American painter, Benjamin West; by his love of the poor acquired the highest reputation as a philanthropist; seconded

[1] Dulany, "Military and Political Affairs in the Middle Colonies in 1755," Penn. Mag. of Hist., iii., p. 27.

the claims of the colonists for their rights under Magna Charta, and gave Philadelphia a second Catholic Church.

Father Schneider from Goshenhopen attended the German Catholics in Philadelphia, and continued his apostolical journeys, visited the scattered Catholics, saying mass, hearing confessions, baptizing, instructing, and encouraging. His Register shows such constant activity as to excite wonder.

Father Manners was in charge of Conewago from about 1753, and Father Steynmeyer, known on the mission as Father Ferdinand Farmer, soon began his six years' pastorship at Lancaster.[1]

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[1] Foley, "Records," vii., pp. 333, 701; "Woodstock Letters," xv., pp. 95–6; v., pp. 202–213; "Register of Goshenhopen"; Molyneux, "Funeral Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Ferdinand Farmer," Philadelphia, 1786, p. 4; Kalm, "Travels into North America," Warrington, 1770.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE ACADIAN CATHOLICS IN THE COLONIES, 1755–1763.

While the dominant party in Maryland was thus paving the way for modern communists by advocating a seizure of property in disregard of vested rights, and was seeking to prevent the entrance of Catholics, and expel those already in the province, a large body of persons of that faith, ruthlessly torn from their happy homes, deprived of all their property, of liberty, and home, without any warrant of law, or form of trial, were flung as paupers upon the shores of Maryland, and the other colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia.

Acadia, our modern Nova Scotia, was ceded to England by France at the treaty of Utrecht, May 22, 1713, and its population, industrious, thrifty, and peaceable, passed under a foreign flag; a Catholic population passed to the rule of a government actuated by the most envenomed hatred of their religion. By the terms of the treaty the settlers were permitted to remove from the province within a year, or if they chose to remain and submit to British rule, England guaranteed them their property, and the free exercise of their religion according to the usage of the Church of Rome, "as far as the laws of England do allow the same." If this clause referred to Great Britain it was a fraud and a treachery, as there the laws did not permit it at all. If England acted in good faith, it must mean as far as England permitted it in the plantations and in Catholic districts falling into her power by force of arms. The capitulation of Port Royal

confirmed by Queen Anne was even more general in its character.

During the year granted France sent no vessels, and England refused to permit the Acadians to leave the province on English vessels. By no fault of their own they were forced to stay. Nor could they sell their lands or stock, for as they were the sole inhabitants there were none to purchase from them.[1] In vain did they ask to be removed; the English authorities, loth to leave so fine a province a desert before they could plant other settlers there, deemed it bad policy to let them depart, and to the very end, as their advocates do now, made it a crime in French officers and priests who urged them to leave all they possessed so as to preserve their nationality and religion.[2]

Indeed, Queen Anne by a letter in which she referred as a motive for her action to the release of Protestants by the French king, allowed the Acadians to retain their lands, without fixing any limit as to time, or to sell them if they chose to remove.[3]

Lulled thus into a fatal security the Acadians made no further effort to depart, but lived contentedly till about 1720, when they were called upon to take an absolute oath of allegiance to the British crown. As is evident from the sequel it was one of those embodying the oath of supremacy and abjuration which no Catholic could take. The Acadians, simple peasants as they were, saw the difficulty, and upon their remonstrance the oath was modified by Governor Mascarene and taken by the people.

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[1] Akins, "Nova Scotia Archives," p. 15; Murdoch, "History of Nova Scotia," ii., p. 341.

[2] Akins, "Nova Scotia Archives," pp. 4, 265; 6–13; 33–41. Murdoch, ii., pp. 340–2.

[3] Akins, "Nova Scotia Archives," p. 15.

Time ran on, another generation grew up, born on English soil, and undoubtedly entitled to all the rights of British subjects; but they were held in a kind of vassalage, governed by military law, disfranchised as Catholics, and with no legislative assembly where they were represented. Each settlement sent delegates from time to time to the governor to receive his commands.

In their religion they were constantly hampered. Their province was part of the diocese of Quebec, and they were attended by priests receiving faculties from the Bishop of that see. But these priests were arbitrarily imprisoned or expelled by the Nova Scotia governors, and treated with the utmost contumely.[1] The governors drew up a most extraordinary "Collection of Orders, Rules and Regulations in relation to the Missionary Romish Priests in His Britannick Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia." Under these regulations no priest could say mass at the chapels of one who had been expelled, and as in some cases a priest would be kept a prisoner in or out of Nova Scotia, the people were for months and years without priest or sacrament, before a priest could reach them who proved acceptable to the ruling governor. No wonder Acadians feared that they would be treated

[1] Of the twenty priests allowed to attend the Catholics at Annapolis, Minas, Chignecto, Pigiguit, from 1713 to 1755, eight were at one time or another banished from the province, and three carried off as prisoners at the general seizure. Father Justinian Durand was nearly two years a prisoner in Boston, 1711–3, and expelled from Nova Scotia in 1720. Father Charlemagne was arrested and expelled for not warning the authorities of an Indian attack, of which there is nothing to show knowledge by the priests. He was expelled and a chapel destroyed. Though no other charge was then made, eight years after they were accused of having planned a massacre. The series of priests and their fortunes, and the treatment they underwent, can be traced in Murdoch, ii., pp. 409–484; Akins, "Nova Scotia Archives." It is lamentable to find any one in the face of these facts write: "Priests and sacraments had never been denied them." "Montcalm and Wolfe," i., p. 244.

like the Irish, and denied their priests altogether as Governor Phillips wrote in 1720.

When war broke out with France, the Acadians refused to furnish French officers on the frontiers with supplies: but in 1749, Governor Cornwallis announced that his Majesty "is graciously pleased to allow that the said inhabitants shall continue in the free exercise of their religion, as far as the laws of Great Britain doe allow the same, as also the peaceable possession of such lands as are under cultivation, Provided that the said inhabitants do within three months take the oaths of allegiance appointed to be taken by the laws of Great Britain, and likewise submit to such rules and orders as may hereafter be thought proper to be made."

In the face of such vague statements they asked to be guaranteed the presence of priests, inasmuch as they were frequently deprived of their clergy in a most arbitrary manner, and they begged not to be required to bear arms against the French. They were answered harshly: "From the year 1714, you became subject to the laws of Great Britain, and were placed precisely upon the same footing as the other Catholic subjects of his Majesty."[1] They earnestly sought permission and means to emigrate. Then Cornwallis rendered this testimony to their worth: "We frankly confess that your determination to leave gives us pain. We are well aware of your industry and your temperance, and that you are not addicted to any vice or debauchery. This province is your country, you and your fathers have cultivated it: naturally you yourselves ought to enjoy the fruits of your labor," and again he endeavored to beguile them with vague promises.[2]

[1] "Nova Scotia Archives," p. 174.

[2] Cornwallis, May 25, 1750. Ibid., p. 189, "N. Y. Col. Doc.," x., pp. 155, 164.

Yet almost at that time the English authorities were discussing plans for a wholesale spoliation of the entire Acadian population, determined to strip them of everything, and deport them without process of law.

The fact that these Acadians of French origin occupied the best lands, was considered as keeping other settlers out. The question of confiscating their land was discussed. "But the mischief of dispossessing them," writes one, "is that it would be an unpopular Transaction and against the Faith of Treaties."[1]

The English did not wish any of the Acadians under their authority to escape.[2] They complained that French officers and clergymen were persuading the inhabitants to leave the province: the English authorities in every way allured those who went to return, and to this day the Bishop of Quebec and his clergy are censured for having advised those Acadians who had emigrated, not to return without a specific pledge of religious liberty.[3]

There were three classes of Acadians, the distinction between whom should be borne in mind, although recent writers endeavor to confuse the minds of readers by stating of one class what referred to another. There were Acadians who had all along remained under the French flag, who had no obligations whatever to the English; then there was a body comparatively small, who having been under the English flag in Nova Scotia, had gone over to French territory,

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[1] "A Genuine Account of Nova Scotia," Dublin, 1750, p. 12.

[2] Lords of Trade to Lawrence, Akins, p. 207.

[3] Albemarle to Puysieulx, "N. Y. Col. Doc.," x., p. 216. In "Montcalm and Wolfe," i., p. 256, the Bishop's letter is not fairly cited. Acadians were fined in 1750 for attempting to leave the province with their effects. "New York Post Boy," Oct. 15, 1750.

and lastly, those who remained peaceably under the English flag, giving no just cause of complaint.

During the war which terminated at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) the British Acadians had given no cause of complaint as a body. Some young men undoubtedly went across the line and fought on the French side, but no arrests were made at the peace, none were tried for having given information or aid to the enemy. During a period of six years no charge of the kind was made, although the British had the power to try summarily and punish any offenders, or make examples of some to terrify the rest. That no steps were taken during that period shows that modern writers who make the charge against a whole community are merely framing a special plea, not acting as the impartial judges whom history requires.[1]

England by attacking French vessels at sea, and Fort Beauséjour on land opened the way for a new war. Then she resolved to carry out a plan already formed for the seizure and deportation of the Acadians who had remained constantly or been born on English soil.[2] When all was ready for the blow, Lawrence, Governor of Nova Scotia, issued a peremptory order requiring the Acadians to take certain oaths. Some writers without citing any authority declare that it was a simple pledge of fidelity and allegiance to George II.[3] Such an oath had been frequently taken by the Acadians, and

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[1] The oath required after the war, in 1749, was simply one of allegiance, that a Catholic might take. "New York Post Boy," Oct. 9, 1749.

[2] A letter from Halifax, dated August 9, 1755, which appeared in the "New York Gazette," Aug. 25, and in the "Pennsylvania Gazette," Sept. 4, 1755, announced the intended removal. The Lords of Trade, however, notified Lawrence that if in the opinion of the Chief Justice they had forfeited their lands, he was to take measures to carry it into execution *by legal process*. Letter, Oct. 29, 1754.

[3] Parkman, "Montcalm and Wolfe," i., p. 265.

there is no reason for supposing that it would have been refused at this time.[1] Moreover, the refusal to take a pledge of fidelity and allegiance would not have constituted them Popish recusants. When the delegates from the Acadian settlements came, oaths were tendered to them, but no record thereof is preserved in the minutes of the council. From Lawrence's subsequent language it is evident, however, that they were some or all oaths then prescribed by the penal laws against Roman Catholics, and which no Catholic could conscientiously take. The delegates of the Acadians remonstrated, and asked assurances on their side, but were dismissed, and when they agreed the next day that the oaths should be taken, the reply was that the offer came too late. The oaths, whatever they were, were never tendered to the Acadians individually nor refused by them. The delegates were told, "that as there was no reason to hope that their proposed Compliance proceeded from an honest mind, and could be esteemed only the Effect of Compulsion and Force, and is contrary to a clause in an Act of Parliament of 1 George II., c. 13, whereby Persons who have once refused to take the Oaths cannot be afterwards permitted to take them, but are considered Popish Recusants;[2] Therefore they would not be indulged with such Permission."[3]

It was thus distinctly avowed that the action taken against them was as Catholics, and under the English penal laws. This is corroborated by the fact that instructions were sent to take special care to seize the priests.

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[1] Akins, "Nova Scotia Archives," i., pp. 84,.21, 69, 91, 121, 167, 188, 263–7, 309, 353–4.

[2] These words, which give a clue to the nature of the oath tendered, and to the penalty incurred, if any, are suppressed in Murdoch, "History of Nova Scotia," ii., p. 282; Parkman, "Montcalm and Wolfe," i., p. 264.

[3] "Nova Scotia Archives," pp. 256, 260, 261.

Haliburton, more honest than later writers, admits that the Acadians were tried by their accusers as judges, without any opportunity to put in a defence. Seven thousand British subjects were thus tried in their absence by a governor and four councillors, without any indictment framed, on a charge of refusing to take oaths never tendered to them individually, never refused except by deputy, and of the seven thousand cases not a single record was drawn up from which they could frame an appeal. Every principle of English law was disregarded, but this is not all. Every step of Lawrence was illegal and a crime. No such law as that of "1 Geo. II., c. 13," exists on the Statute Book of Great Britain which can apply to the case of the Acadians. No severe laws against the Catholics in England were enacted at that time, and in Ireland the existing penal statutes were actually mitigated. The law was a pure invention of Governor Lawrence. Moreover, the penal laws against the Catholics in England did not extend to the colonies, unless specially enacted there. We have seen how an attempt was made in Maryland to enact them by surprise in a bill which did not betray the design, and how sanction to that law was refused in England. We have seen how at this very time the lower House in Maryland, at successive sessions, made repeated efforts to extend the penal laws of William III. against the Roman Catholics to that province.

It can be irrefragably asserted that no law against the Catholics, 1 Geo. II., c. 13,[1] existed; that no law existed making

[1] It may be said that the act referred to was really 1 Geo. I., c. 13; but this does not help the matter. That act refers to Catholics holding office; the only penalty for refusing the oaths is the loss of the office, and so far from its preventing one who had once refused the oath from subsequently taking it, this statute of George I. expressly exempts a Catholic who had once refused from all the consequences of recusancy on his subsequently taking the oath.

forfeiture of real estate and personal property absolute on refusal of any oath; that no law made a community guilty of refusing oaths tendered merely to a committee; that no law made married women and infants guilty of refusing; that under no law was real property confiscated without legal proceedings in each case. And that cruel, heartless, and inhuman as the English laws against the Catholics were, it was a recognized principle that they had no force in America until they were formally adopted there.

The means to execute the long-meditated sentence were ready before the farce of tendering the oaths under a pretended English law, which, if real, would have had no force in Nova Scotia. The troops to carry out the sentence were at hand, with a fleet, and provisioned transports. The whole number of these doomed Catholics was seven thousand. From Minas, Piziquid and Cobequid, and Rivière du Canard, five hundred were to be sent to North Carolina; one thousand to Virginia; two thousand to Maryland. From Annapolis River three hundred were to be sent to Philadelphia, two hundred to New York, three hundred to Connecticut, and two hundred to Boston.

The nefarious scheme was carried out promptly and secretly. The Acadian men at the different points were summoned to meet the English officials, and were at once surrounded and disarmed, only five hundred escaping to the woods. Their cattle were slaughtered or divided among English settlers; then the women and children were forced to leave their homes and march to the shore, seeing behind them their houses, barns, and churches blazing in one general conflagration.[1] The unfortunate people were then marched

[1] After burning 181 houses and barns they proceeded to the Mass House, which, with what was therein contained, "was burnt to ashes." At Petcoudiack, the Acadians who had escaped and a party of Indians

on board the ships, no regard being paid to ties of kindred and affection. The priests in Acadia, though French subjects, and there under the faith of a treaty, were seized, except the Abbé Miniac, who for a time eluded capture; but the Rev. Messrs. Chauvreulx, Daudin, and Le Maire were conveyed to Admiral Boscawen's fleet as prisoners of war. Then after being detained some months at Halifax, they were taken to Portsmouth, and finally sent to Saint Malo.[1]

A large body of Catholics, nearly one-third as many as there were in the English colonies, were thus suddenly landed from Massachusetts to Georgia. All the vessels reached their destinations except one, on which the Acadians overpowered the crew and escaped. Two thousand apparently of these Catholics were landed in Massachusetts, and that colony, unable at once to provide comfortably for so large a number, appealed on grounds of humanity to New Hampshire to relieve her of a portion, but that province declined on the pretext that she was on the frontier of Canada.[2]

Though the brutal falsifier, Lawrence, wrote to Boston to urge the people to proselytize the children of the exiles, the unhappy Acadians found sympathy in Massachusetts. Lieu-

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saw their houses fired, but when the English advanced to the church to include it in the conflagration, they opened fire, killing or wounding 23. "New York Gazette," October 6–13, 1755.

[1] "Historical Magazine," iv., p. 42; "Nova Scotia Archives," p. 282; Letter of Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, October 23, 1755; Ferland, "Cours d'Histoire," ii., p. 521. A writer, on the authority of Pichon, who, though a French officer, carried on a treacherous correspondence with the English, Boishébert and other officers, who had constantly urged priests in French territory to attract Acadians from English territory, accuses the priests seized, who were on English territory, with being the cause of the woes of the Acadians. This is confounding two sets of people, and is far less candid than Murdoch, who acknowledges that Pichon, Boishébert, etc., were freethinkers, constantly attacking the clergy.

[2] "New Hampshire Provincial Papers," vi., pp. 445, 452.

tenant-Governor Hutchinson was so affected by their sufferings that he prepared a representation proper for them to make to the British Government, to be signed by the chief men in the name of the rest, praying that they either might have leave to return to their estates or might receive a compensation, and he offered to forward it to England to a person who would take up their case. The unhappy Acadians had lost all faith in English honor, and trusting that the French monarch would exert himself for them declined Hutchinson's offer, little dreaming that the war would last seven years and end in the disappearance of French authority in America.

Hutchinson says distinctly: "In several instances the husbands who happened to be at a distance," when the Acadians were seized, "were put on board vessels bound to one of the English colonies, and their wives and children on board other vessels bound to other colonies remote from the first." "Five or six families were brought to Boston, the wife and children only, without the husbands and fathers, who by advertisements in the newspapers, came from Philadelphia to Boston, being, till then, utterly uncertain what had become of their families."[1] The father of Monseigneur Prince, Bishop of Saint Hyacinthe in Canada, was landed alone at Boston, where a kind family took him, and he did not discover his parents till after several years' search.[2]

Private persons at Boston provided houses where the aged and infirm who were in danger of perishing were received. Hutchinson himself in vain endeavored to save the life of one poor woman; but his care came too late. Then a law was passed authorizing justices of the peace and other offi-

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[1] Hutchinson, "History of Massachusetts Bay," iii., p. 40.

[2] Ferland, "Cours d'Histoire," ii., p. 520.

cers to employ the Acadians at labor, and bind them, in fact treat them as paupers. Those advanced in years, and some who had evidently enjoyed a higher position in Acadia, were allowed support without labor. Yet if an Acadian attempted to visit his countrymen in another town without leave of the selectmen, he was fined or whipped.

Lands were offered to them to settle, but as they would be deprived of the consolations of religion, these sincere Catholics declined. Hutchinson says: "No exception was taken to their prayers in their families, in their own way, which I believe they practiced in general, and sometimes they assembled several families together; but the people would upon no terms have consented to the public exercise of religious worship by Roman Catholic priests." "It was suspected that some such were among them in disguise, but it is not probable that any ventured."

When at last they despaired of being restored to their own estates, they endeavored to reach parts where they could find priests of their own faith, and if possible of their own language. Many went from New England to Saint Domingo and Canada.[1] Yet in 1760 there were still more than a thousand in Massachusetts and the District of Maine. The prejudiced Williamson insults them as "ignorant Catholics,"[2] conscious that their religion was their only crime. Even in 1762 French Neutrals were shipped from Nova Scotia, "their Wives and Children were not permitted with them, but were ship'd on board other vessels."[3] When the French

[1] Hutchinson, "History of Massachusetts Bay," iii., pp. 41–2. "N. E. Gen. Register," xxx., p. 17. P. H. Smith, ibid., 1886.

[2] "History of Maine," ii., p. 311. "Collections, Maine Hist. Soc'y," vi., p. 379.

[3] "N. Y. Mercury," Aug. 30, 1762. Seven hundred arrived at Boston, Aug. 25th. Ib., Sept. 6, 1762, but were subsequently sent back. Ib., Oct. 11, 25.

came as our allies some years later no mention is made of these Acadians. They had perished or emigrated, leaving their sufferings as a part of the history of the future Church of Massachusetts.

The Acadians landed at New York were treated no better than those in New England; the adults were put to labor, and the children bound out "in order to make the young people useful, good subjects," that is, Protestants. One hundred and nine children were thus scattered through Orange and Westchester Counties. In 1757 a party who had been in Westchester County made their escape, and attempted to reach Crown Point, but were captured near Fort Edward.[1] A considerable number of Acadians were at one time quartered in a house at Brooklyn near the ferry; but no distinction was made in New York in favor of those who had occupied a higher position in their own country. On the slightest pretext they were arrested, and at one time by a general order all throughout the colony were committed to the county jails.[2] Even as late as 1764, when Fénelon, Governor of Martinique, sent an agent to bring 150 Acadians to the West Indies, Lieutenant-Governor Colden refused to permit them to go.[3]

On the 18th of November, 1755, three vessels ascended the Delaware bearing 454 of these persecuted Catholics, most of them with insufficient clothing, many of them sickly and feeble, some actually at the point of death. The crime of Lawrence had in the eternal counsels been punished by the overthrow of a British army on the Monongahela, and Philadelphia saw in these wretched Acadians, men who with the

[1] "New York Mercury," July 11, 1757.

[2] "N. Y. Col. Doc.," vii., p. 125; "Calendar N. Y. Hist. MSS.," pp. 658–678.

[3] "Colden Papers," ii., pp. 333, etc.

Irish and Germans were to slaughter the Protestants.[1] But Benezet dispelled the fears and aroused the benevolence of the people of Pennsylvania. Best of all they saw a priest, the Jesuit Father Harding, come to minister to them. More than half died within a short time after their arrival, but they died consoled and fortified by the sacraments of the Church.[2] Many thus charitably received remained and made new homes, and soon lost their identity in the general population. Others made their way to Canada and the West Indies, but the Catholic body in Pennsylvania certainly received some additions from this body of Acadian Confessors of the Faith.

Of the nine hundred who reached Maryland many were suffering from sickness and insufficient clothing, and their wants were to some extent relieved. The President of the Council acting as Governor retained one vessel at Annapolis, sent one to Baltimore and to the Patuxent River, one to Oxford, and one to Wicomico. The Council, however, commanded all the justices to prohibit the Roman Catholic inhabitants to lodge these poor Acadians, and any who were of necessity placed in the houses of Catholics were promptly removed.

One gentleman, Mr. H. Callister, relying on the honor of government to reimburse him, incurred considerable expense in relieving their wants, but he was never reimbursed. He

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[1] "Pennsylvania Archives," ii., p. 506. W. B. Read in "Memoirs Penn. Hist. Soc.," vi., p. 292.

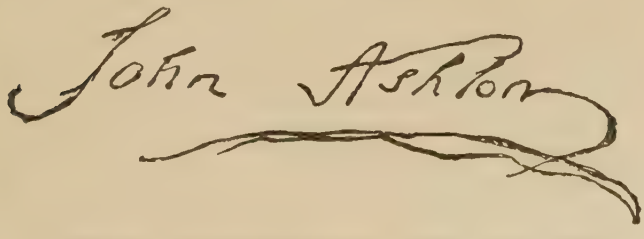
[2] Walsh, "Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain," pp. 87–92, 437. Westcott, "History of Philadelphia," ch. 193; Smith in "N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.," 1886. Walsh gives the Petition of the Acadians in Pennsylvania to the King of England; but the pathetic appeal produced no effect. Yet the facts show that intelligent public men in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania then believed that the Acadians had a just claim on the English Government for compensation.

also drew up a petition for them to the King of England, but nothing was ever heard of it.

A law was passed in 1756 empowering the justices in each county to make provision for these Acadians, but the people were not disposed to bear the burthen. Talbot County addressed the Assembly, in a most bigoted document, urging some action for their removal from the province.

FOTTERAL'S HOUSE, WHERE MASS WAS FIRST SAID IN BALTIMORE. FROM MOALE'S DRAWING.

Those in Baltimore seem to have found more benevolent people. Some were lodged in private houses, and a number were sheltered in a large unfinished structure, the first brick house in Baltimore, begun by Mr. Edward Fotteral,



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER JOHN ASHTON.

an Irish gentleman, who subsequently returned to his native country. The Acadians occupied all that was habitable, and hearing that there was a priest at Doughoregan, the seat of

Charles Carroll, the Barrister, they sent imploring the priest to extend his care to them.[1]

The Jesuit Father Ashton responded to their appeal, and mass was said for the first time, and was maintained for a considerable period in Baltimore in this house, where a room was prepared for use as a chapel, and a rude altar reared each time the priest arrived, bringing his vestments and sacred vessels. The first congregation in the city which before the lapse of two score years was to be the see of a bishop, and in little more than a century to be presided over by a Cardinal of Holy Roman Church, was a little body not more than forty in all, chiefly Acadians, with a few Irish Catholics, among the latter Messrs. Patrick Bennet, Robert Walsh, and William Stenson.[2]

The Acadians who reached Maryland, finding that they could practice their religion, and obtain the services of priests, remained, and being accustomed to the sea, found employment as coasters, fishermen, etc.; but their faith which stood the persecutions of Protestantism was much weakened by the horde of freethinking Frenchmen who came during and after our war of Independence. Many then were corrupted

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[1] Scharf, "History of Maryland," i., pp. 474–9.

[2] A rough pen and ink sketch of Baltimore in 1752, by Moale, preserved by the Maryland Historical Society, shows this house. Our sketch is made carefully from it, without alteration. The house where mass was said for the Acadians by Father Ashton, is the large house at the left. It was near the northwest corner of Fayette and Calvert streets. See Campbell, "Desultory Sketches of the Catholic Church in Maryland," in Religious Cabinet, 1842, p. 310.

Robin, "Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale," Philadelphia, 1782, p. 99, speaks of the Acadians' attachment to their faith, and the loving remembrance of their former priests, mentioning especially a Rev. Mr. le Clerc (? Le Maire), who when they came away gave them a chalice and vestments. This seems doubtful, as no priest of that name was in Acadia at the time.

and lost the faith they had so nobly witnessed unto.[1] Yet there was some emigration. Captain Ford, of Leonardtown, Maryland, sailed with a number for Louisiana, and was driven on the coast of Texas, where they were seized by the Spaniards and carried to New Mexico, suffering greatly till a priest learned their history and obtained their release.[2]

Many, however, remained at Baltimore, where their descendants are to be found to this day.

Virginia, considering that the Governor of Nova Scotia had no right to throw the great mass of the inhabitants of his colony on other colonies to be supported as paupers, and knowing that it would be useless to look to England or Nova Scotia for compensation, refused to receive the deported Acadians. She remonstrated so firmly with the English Government, that 336 were transported to Liverpool, where they were detained for seven years as prisoners of war, and subjected to many temptations to abandon their faith. At the peace they were claimed by France, and obtained lands in Poitou and Berry, still occupied by their descendants.[3]

The 1,500 sent to South Carolina were at first scattered through the parishes, but the compassion for their misfortune was such that vessels were obtained at the public charge in which many went to France. A few remained in the colony; others sought to reach Louisiana, or endeavored to return to their former homes.[4]

Georgia by its charter positively excluded Catholics, not

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[1] Letter of Archbishop Carroll.

[2] Smyth, "Tour in the United States," ii., p. 377.

[3] Brymner, "Report on Canadian Archives, 1883," p. 145; "Memoire sur les Acadiens," Niort, 1867.

[4] Cooper, "Statutes," iv., p. 31. Two parties attempted to escape early in 1756, but were retaken. "N. Y. Mercury," Mar. 1, 1756. Yet in 1760, 300 Acadians are reported as having had the small-pox, 115 dying of it in South Carolina. "Maryland Gazette," April 17.

one of whom was allowed to settle within its limits. When Governor Reynolds, who was attending an Indian Council, heard that the Governor of Nova Scotia had thus thrown four hundred Catholics upon his colony he decided that they could not remain. As winter had set in he gave them shelter till spring. Then they were permitted to build rude boats, and numbers set out to coast along to Nova Scotia, encouraged by the help and approval of the Christian men of the South.[1] Toiling patiently along, a party of seventy-eight reached Long Island in August, 1756, but though they bore passports from the Governors of South Carolina and Georgia, they were seized by the brutal Sir Charles Hardy, who distributed them in the most remote parts of the colony, putting adults to labor, and binding out children, so that they should be brought up Protestants.[2] Ninety who reached the southern part of Massachusetts in July, were similarly treated by Lieut.-Gov. Phips.

Though the fear was expressed that, exasperated at the cruel and inhuman treatment to which they had been subjected, these people might take some terrible revenge, no case of crime is charged to these noble confessors of the faith in any of the colonies. They suffered, but not as evil-doers.[3]

Gradually during the war, and after its close in 1763, Acadians made their way from Pennsylvania, Carolina, and Georgia, as well as from Halifax to the French West Indies, where many sank under the climate. Most of the survivors removed thence about 1765 to the colony of Louisiana, where they settled in Attakapas, and Opelousas. Here land was allotted to them; six hundred and fifty-six being thus pro-

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[1] Stevens, "History of Georgia," i., pp. 413–417.

[2] "New York Colonial Documents," vii., p 125.

[3] "Nova Scotia Archives," pp. 301–304.

vided in the early months of 1765. This body with others who joined them from time to time constitute the source of the great Acadian body in Louisiana, which retains to this day the peculiarities of speech and manners that characterized their ancestors.[1]

Of those who in time reached Nova Scotia or its neighborhood, or who escaped from the hands of Lawrence, some fearing fresh cruelties struck into the woods on the upper Saint John, and formed the Madawaska settlement. Strangely enough, in 1842 England claimed this part of the State of Maine, on the ground that it had been settled by the Neutral French, who were British subjects.[2]

The largest body of Catholics that in one year reached our shores did not materially alter the position of the adherents of the true faith in the existing British colonies. A small body remaining at Baltimore, a few in Philadelphia, the Acadian settlement in Louisiana, which did not come into the United States for some years after the recognition of independence, and the little Madawaska colony, overlooked by the authorities for years, and ministered to as their fathers had been by priests from Canada, alone were permanent.

The fact that such an act could have been perpetrated by Governor Lawrence under the pretence that it was in accordance with the penal laws against the Catholics, shows how bitter the feeling of the time was.

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[1] "Nova Scotia Archives," pp. 347–350; Gayarrê, "Histoire de la Louisiane," ii., pp. 127–128.

[2] See "The Acadian Confessors of the Faith, 1755," by me in "Am. Cath. Quarterly," ix., p. 592. "Acadia, a Lost Chapter in American History," by Philip H. Smith, Pawling, 1884; and a paper by the same author, "N. E. Hist. Gen. Register," 1886. H. R. Casgrain, "Un Pelerinage au Pays d'Evangéline."

## CHAPTER V.

### CATHOLICITY IN THE BRITISH COLONIES, 1755–1763.

The war against the French was one against Catholicity, and as after a few years hostilities also began against Spain, England was arrayed against the two Catholic powers in America, and every hostile movement tended to inflame the minds of the people of the colonies against all who professed the faith. The conquest of Canada was especially sought in order to extirpate Catholicity utterly. The position of the faithful in the English colonies was one of constant peril and annoyance.

The newspapers teemed with diatribes against the Catholics, and ministers like the Rev. Mr. Brogden preached series of sermons against Popery, and any reply or protest only made their tirades more virulent.[1]

Stimulated in this way a strong public feeling grew up against the Catholic body, and it would seem that the Protestants of Sassafrax, Middle Neck, and Bohemia Manor, to whom the proximity of the Jesuits was very galling, petitioned the legislature at the session of 1756, praying that stringent measures might be taken against the Jesuits. At all events the lower House at this session was about to pass a very stringent bill prohibiting the importation of Irish Papists via Delaware under a penalty of £20 each, and denouncing any Jesuit or Popish priest as a traitor who tampered with

[1] "Maryland Gazette," Annapolis, Feb. 26, 1755, May 16, 1754, March 14, 1754.

any of his Majesty's subjects in the colony; but the bill did not pass, the governor having prorogued the legislature shortly after it was introduced.[1]

Yet for all this hostile legislation there was no pretext whatever. A writer of that period in England could say boldly: "In Maryland they have always shown a fidelity and remarkable submission to the English Government, and have particularly avoided a correspondence with the enemies of Great Britain."[2]

The Catholics in Maryland were accused of sympathizing with the French, but in proof of their innocence, and as a testimony of their zeal for the welfare of the country, they appealed to their conduct in behalf of the people of the frontier, who had been driven from their homes after that disaster. Addressing the upper House of Assembly in 1756 the Catholics said: "The Roman Catholics were not the men who opposed the subscription: on the contrary they countenanced it, they promoted it, they subscribed generously, and paid their subscriptions honourably: and if our numbers are compared with the numbers of our Protestant fellow-subjects, and the sum paid on this occasion by the Roman Catholicks be compared with the sum total collected, it may be said the Roman Catholicks contributed prodigiously beyond their proportion to an aid so seasonable and necessary."

Yet the lower House in 1755 had presented Governor Sharpe a furious address against the Roman Catholics, and passed a resolution that all the Penal laws mentioned in the Toleration Act were in force in Maryland, although some had actually been repealed. The Governor writing to Charles

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[1] Johnston, "History of Cecil County, Md.," p. 202.

[2] "Considerations on the Penal Laws against Roman Catholics in England, and the new acquired Colonies in America." London, 1764, p. 51.

Calvert bore testimony to the good conduct of the Catholics. "For my part I have not heard but the Papists behave themselves peaceably and as good subjects. They are, I imagine, about one-twelfth of the people, and many of them are men of pretty considerable fortunes. I conceive their numbers do not increase, though I have reason to think the greater part of the Germans which are imported profess that religion."[1]

In the session ending May 22, 1756, a law was passed for raising an amount to defend the frontiers, which the Assembly had long neglected to do. They seized the opportunity to insert a clause imposing a double tax on all Catholic property owners in Maryland. The Governor and upper House made no effort to save the Catholics, and this iniquitous system once inaugurated was continued during the colonial period.[2]

A law was even introduced to make it high treason in any priest who converted a Protestant to the true faith, and to deprive of all right of inheriting any Catholic educated at a foreign popish seminary; but these violent measures failed to pass, the upper House in 1758 even attempting, though in vain, to relieve Catholics from the double tax as "not to be defended upon a principle of justice or policy." The lower House stimulated by the Protestant clergy, whom Catholics were heavily taxed to support, adhered to the spirit of persecution,[3] and Governor Sharpe, himself a Protestant, writing to the Lord Proprietor indignantly details the oppressions suffered by the Maryland Catholics from their enemies,

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[1] Scharf, "History of Maryland," i., p. 461.

[2] The Catholics in vain appealed to the Governor to withhold his sanction to this bill.

[3] "Votes and Proceedings of the lower House of Assembly, Apl., May, 1758."

"and states that many were made such by envy or the hope of reaping some advantage from a persecution of the Papists," and he bore his testimony that since he had administered the colony the conduct of the Catholics had been most unexceptionable.[1]

Besides these cruel laws a new method of persecution had been undertaken. Complaint was made before a magistrate against Father James Beadnall, and two writs were issued on which he was arrested by the Sheriff of Queen Anne's County, on the 22d of September, 1756. He was obliged to give bail in £1,500 for his appearance before the Provincial Court to be held at Annapolis on the 19th of October. Two indictments were laid before the Grand Jury against him, the first for celebrating mass in a private family, and the second for endeavoring to bring over a dissenter, Quaker, or nonjuror to "the Romish persuasion." The Grand Jury did not act on the matter, and he was brought before the Grand Jury of Talbot County, but that body on the 16th of April, 1757, refused to indict him; they held that as to the first charge he was justified by the order issued by Queen Anne, at Whitehall, January 3, 170$\frac{5}{6}$; and as to the second charge they found the evidence insufficient.[2]

This good priest who enjoys the privilege of having been arrested for discharging his duty was a native of Northumberland, born April 8, 1718, and entered the Society of Jesus at Watten, September 7. 1739. His name appears first at

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[1] Gov. Sharpe's Letter, Dec. 16. 1758, in "Ridgeley's Annals of Annapolis," p. 95.

[2] Father George Hunter, "A Short Account of y$^e$ State and Condition." "A Short Account of y$^e$ Proceedings of y$^e$ Assembly of Maryland." The Maryland Archives have no record of this prosecution of F. Beadnall.

St. Thomas' Manor in 1749, and after many years' service on the mission, he died at Newtown, September 1, 1772.[1]

FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER GEORGE HUNTER, S.J.

There were at this time fourteen Fathers on the Maryland and Pennsylvania mission, Father George Hunter being the Superior, and returning to England for a time this year.

Father Beadnall was not the only one of the Jesuit Fathers molested at this time. A man was arrested at Fort Cumberland as a spy, and admitted that he had been in the French service at Fort Du Quesne, having been carried off by a party of Indians. The man swore that a certain priest had maintained correspondence by letter with the French; that he had been up in the country among them, and that several Catholic laymen whom he named had with the priest notified the French that they would give them all aid in their attempts against the province. The accused priest was taken into custody to be tried at the Annapolis Assizes in February, 1757. The case broke down, however. When the man was put on the stand, he was asked whether he knew a Catholic layman pointed out to him. He replied that he did, that he was the priest, and that he had seen him say mass in Baltimore County, and had often carried letters from him to the French. He made

FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER JAMES BEADNALL.

[1] Foley, "Records of the English Province," vii., p. 42. Treacy, "Catalogue," p. 98, thinks he died in 1775.

similar answers in regard to other laymen introduced into the room. When the priest actually came, he swore that he did not know him, and had never seen him in his life. The Governor and Council before whom the examination took place knew the priest personally, and saw the knavery of the witness. The priest and the Catholic laymen were acquitted, and the informer was sent to Lord Loudon as a deserter.[1]

The alarm caused by the French operations on the Ohio had already excited suspicion and odium against the Catholics of Pennsylvania. The Justices of Berks County, Conrad Weiser being one of them, unfolded their foolish fears in an address to Governor Morris, July 23, 1755. "We know," say these sapient magistrates, "that the people of the Roman Catholic Church are bound by their principles to be the worst subjects and worst of neighbours, and we have reason to fear, just at this time, that the Roman Catholics in Cussahopen—where they have a very magnificent chapel, and lately have had long processions—have bad designs."—"The priest at Reading as well as at Cussahopen last Sunday gave notice to the people that they could not come to them again in less than nine weeks, whereas they constantly preach once in four weeks to their congregations: whereupon some imagine they have gone to consult with our enemies at Du Quesne."[2] And a publication of the time says: "There are near one-fourth of the Germans supposed to be Roman Catholics who cannot be supposed Friends to any Design for defending the Country against the French."[3]

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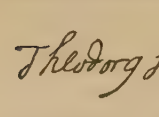
[1] F. George Hunter, "A Short Account of the State and Condition." The name of the Father is not given; and the State Archives have no papers in the case. It was probably Father Hunter himself.

[2] "Provincial Records, 1755," p. 125; Rupp, "History of the Counties of Berks and Lebanon," Lancaster, 1844, p. 151.

[3] "Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania," London, 1755, p. 35.

An inquiry instituted by Lord Loudon gives us the Catholic population of Pennsylvania in 1757. In and near Philadelphia there were 72 men, 78 women, Irish or English; and in Chester County 18 men, 22 women under the care of Father Robert Harding. His associate Father Theodore Schneider residing at Goshenhopen, had under his care 107 men and 121 women, all Germans, in and about Philadelphia, and 198 men and 166 women in Philadelphia, Berks, Northampton, Bucks, and Chester Counties; while Father Ferdinand Farmer, then at Lancaster, had 208 Irish and German men and 186 women in Lancaster, Berks, Chester, and Cumberland Counties, and Father Matthias Manners, the missionary at Conewago, had 99 men and 100 women, including both Irish and Germans, in York County.[1]



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER THEODORE SCHNEIDER.

When precisely the church was built at Goshenhopen is not determined. The house mentioned by Father Schneider in his register, had evidently been replaced by a church, which must have been of some size[2] and beauty to be styled even in prejudiced exaggeration, "a very magnificent chapel." With a respect for antiquity worthy of praise, the walls of the old chapel of the last century were retained as part of the present church.

FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER FERDINAND FARMER.

The congregation at St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia,

[1] F. Harding to Peters, "National Gazette," Philadelphia, June 14, 1820. "Woodstock Letters," xv., p. 58.

[2] Father Enoch Fenwick, in his notes on Goshenhopen, says it was 55 by 32.

had increased so that the original chapel is said to have been enlarged or rebuilt in 1757.[1] Moreover as ground was required for a cemetery, and also to make provision in time for the erection of a second church, a lot extending from Fourth to Fifth Street, sixty-three feet in front, and three hundred and ninety-six feet deep, was conveyed May 10,

CHURCH OF THE MOST BLESSED SACRAMENT, GOSHENHOPEN, NOW BALLY, PA., BEING IN PART ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, ERECTED BY FATHER THEODORE SCHNEIDER, S.J.

1759, to two Roman Catholics, James Reynolds and Bryan O'Hara, evidently in trust for the desired object. It was reconveyed the next year to Daniel Swan and others, and a declaration of trust was made by the direction and appoint-

[1] This seems very doubtful. The enlargement more probably preceded Kalm's visit.

ment of the members or congregation professing the Roman Catholic religion, and belonging to the Roman Catholic chapel on the south side of Walnut Street, in the city of Philadelphia, designated as St. Joseph's.

The purchase money, £328. 16. 6, was contributed by Rev. Robert Harding and eighty-one other subscribers; and the ground was stated to be for the benefit of the chapel, especial reference being made to its use as a burial place, as by law Catholics could hold land for that object. A second subscription was begun in 1762, and was so successful that in the following year the erection of a church was begun on this property, the future St. Mary's.[1]

Father Ferdinand Farmer after six years' service at Lancaster and its dependent missions, doing his part in completing the church in that town, was transferred to Philadelphia. The first entry in his register there is on the 17th of September, 1758, and he seems to have entered at once on part of the labors previously borne by Father Schneider, as the next year we find him at Concord, and at Geiger's in Salem County, New Jersey. His labors at Philadelphia as assistant to Father Harding were evidently onerous, but down to the close of the period we are considering, his visits to Geiger's and the Glass House in Salem County were constant.[2]

Small as this scattered body was, the militia act of 1757 required that in enrolling the people, their religion should be

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[1] So stated in "A Letter to the Roman Catholics of Philadelphia," Philadelphia, 1822, pp. 24–6, a Hoganite pamphlet aiming to show that the Society of Jesus had not contributed largely to the erection of St. Mary's.

[2] Father Farmer's Register. He visited Geiger's June 27, Aug. 22, Oct. 3, 1759; Jan. 1–2, Mar. 12, June 11, Oct. 1, 1760; Mar. 11; Geiger's and Glass House, May 14; Geiger's, June 17, Aug. 12, Oct. 14, 1761; June 24, New Jersey, Aug. 24, Geiger's Nov. 23, 1762. His other visits were to Concord and Chester Co.

taken down to ascertain the Papists, who were to be excluded from the militia; by a special clause every Catholic was required within a month to surrender all arms, accoutrements, gunpowder, or ammunition, under the penalty of three months' imprisonment; and every Catholic who would have been liable to military duty was compelled to pay a militia tax of twenty shillings—a heavy amount for the times—to the captain of the company in which, no matter how willing, he was not allowed to serve.[1]

About this same time Father George Hunter, the Superior of the Maryland mission, estimated the total adult Catholic population of Maryland and Pennsylvania at 10,000. "We count about 10,000 adult customers sive comm$^{ts}$, & near as many under age or non comm$^{ts}$. Each master of a residence keeps about 2 Sundays in y$^{e}$ month a home, y$^{e}$ rest abroad at y$^{e}$ distance of more or fewer miles, as far sometimes as 20 or 30 & y$^{e}$ other Gentlemen all abroad every such day."[2] "Pennsilvany has about 3,000 adult customers sive comm$^{ts}$ near as many under age or no$^{n}$ comm$^{ts}$. The extent of their excursions is about 130 miles long by 35 broad."

"Our journeys are very long, our rides constant and extensive. We have many to attend and few to attend 'em. I often ride about 300 miles a week, and ne'er a week but I ride 150 or 200, and in our way of living we ride almost as much by night as by day in all weathers, in heats, colds, rain, frost, and snow," writes Father Joseph Mosley from Newtown, September 1, 1759.

"I find here business enough upon my hands in my way of trade," wrote this same Jesuit priest from Newtown,

[1] Westcott, "History of Philadelphia," ch. 193.

[2] F. George Hunter, "Report," July 23, 1765. "Customers" meant communicants.

September 8, 1758. "I've care of above fifteen hundred souls." . . . . "I am daily on horseback, visiting y^e^ sick, comforting the infirm, strengthening y^e^ pusillanimous, etc." This same Father attending Sakia and Newport in 1763, reported 873 Easter communions.

The mission-stations from which the priests attended the faithful in their districts were, the Assumption at St. Inigoes, where one missionary resided; St. Xavier's at Newtown, three missionaries; St. Ignatius at Port Tobacco, three; St. Francis Borgia at Whitemarsh, two; St. Joseph's at Deer Creek, one; St. Stanislaus at Fredericktown, one; St. Mary's at Queenstown, or Tuckaho, one; St. Xavier's at Bohemia, one; St. Joseph's, Philadelphia, two; St. Paul at Cushenhopen, one; St. John Nepomucene at Lancaster, one; St. Francis Regis at Conewago, one.

Of most of these missions we have spoken at some length. The mission of St. Francis Borgia at Whitemarsh is said to have been founded, but was probably revived, in 1760.

Whitemarsh mission was fourteen miles from Annapolis, on the top of a hill about one hundred feet high, nearly half a mile from the Patuxent River, a cultivated field extending from the foot of the hill to the stream which was crossed by "The Priest's Bridge." The circular plateau on top of the hill was nearly five hundred feet in diameter and well shaded. Here rose the mission of Saint Francis Borgia, with extensive plantations in the plain below.

There was also a mission of St. Mary's at Queenstown, or Tuckaho, before 1763.[1]

Soon after 1750 Charles Carroll, Esq., purchased 12,000 acres watered by the Potomac and Monocacy, and let it out in small farms. Many of those who became tenants came

[1] Mem. of F. Geo. Hunter, July 23, 1765.

from St. Mary's, Charles, and Prince George Counties, as the names of Darnall, Boone, Abell, Payne, Brooks, Jameson, and Jarboe, show. These Catholics were at first attended from St. Thomas' Manor, near Port Tobacco, but in 1763 Father John Williams, a native of Flintshire, in Wales, purchased a lot and in the following year erected a house, still standing, and forming part of the novitiate. This was the mission of St. Stanislaus. "It was a two-story building; it included on the first floor three rooms and a passage, thus giving a front of about fifty feet." "The second floor was used as a chapel."

This small chapel was for nearly forty years the only place of worship for Catholics in Frederick County.[1]

The Jesuit estates not only supported the missionaries, and paid all the expense of maintaining divine worship in the chapels at their residence and the stations, but also enabled them to send over to England £200 to repay previous advances, and the passage of Fathers coming to or returning from Maryland.[2]

The project of seizing the property held by the missionaries which was constantly urged at this time, aimed therefore at suppressing at a single blow all Catholic worship in Maryland, depriving the faithful of their principal chapels and the clergy of their only sure source of income. Some advised that this property when confiscated should be applied to found a college.

Such was the condition of the Catholics in the colonies as the Seven Years' War drew to a close. The faithful oppressed, ground down with taxes and disabilities, liable at

[1] St. John's Church and Residences, Frederick, Md. "Woodstock Letters," vol. v., pp. 29–36. The deed to Rev. George Hunter was not executed till Oct. 2, 1765.

[2] V. Rev. Henry Corbie, "Ordinations and Regulations for M—y—d."

any moment to have all their property wrested from them, had lost all energy and hope.

A writer of the time says: "The yearly repeated Bills of late for putting Penal Laws in execution, have already produced this Effect in some measure, one Gentleman of an affluent Fortune having already sold part of his lands with intention to quit the country, and many others judging they shall be necessitated to follow his Example unless assured of enjoying their possessions in greater peace and quiet than for these eight years past."[1]

There is no trace of any mission work about this time in Virginia and New York.[2] The Catholics in Pennsylvania were comparatively free. They had churches openly at Philadelphia, Conewago, Lancaster, and Goshenhopen, and proposed to erect one in Easton. They were, however, comparatively poor, few of their communion being possessed of any large means, but they contributed money to erect and maintain churches and support the priests who attended them. New Jersey was a mission field without a church, and the perquisites of the priests who penetrated into it must have been scanty indeed.

In Maryland the Catholic population was more rural, comprising the owners of plantations with their slaves, and the

[1] "The Case of the Roman Catholics in Maryland, 1759."

[2] Accounts of visits of priests to New York at this period, are, so far as I can discover, absolutely unfounded. The Virginia penal act of 1756 was very comprehensive. The usual oaths were to be rendered to all Papists; no Catholic could have arms under penalty of three months' imprisonment, forfeiture of the arms, and a fine of three times their value. Any Protestant who did not report a Catholic neighbor for keeping arms was subject to the same penalties. A Catholic owning a horse worth more than £5 was liable to three months' imprisonment and a fine of three times the value of the horse. Henings' "Statutes at Large," vii., p. 37. The few Virginia Catholics of that day were, it is said, visited at times by the holy Father George Hunter.

tradesfolk near them. The wealthy Mr. Carroll had a house in Annapolis with a private chapel, but in no town except Frederick was there even a priest's house for a congregation. Private chapels on plantations of Catholic proprietors or owned by the missionaries, were the stations attended from each central point. Beyond the few cases of private chapels, the Catholics did nothing to erect or maintain churches or support the clergy, and under the pressure of persecution were becoming inert, and losing the energy of faith that shows itself in self-sacrifice.

In both provinces the services of the Church were conducted apparently in the plainest manner, without pomp, and in most cases without music. Sermons were read from manuscript in the English style. Cemeteries existed on the priests' farms, but many interments were made in private burial plots in the grounds of Catholics. A funeral sermon was generally delivered.

It was not possible for all to hear mass every Sunday and holiday, and the list of holidays then far exceeded those now kept. It included the Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, the Finding of the Holy Cross, the Assumption, Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, All Saints and Christmas, St. Mathias, St. Joseph, St. Philip and St. James, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. James, St. Anne, St. Lawrence, St. Bartholomew, St. Matthew, St. Michael, St. Simon and St. Jude, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, St. Sylvester, and St. George.

The missionaries were certainly zealous and devoted, and so far as we can glean, communions were frequent, many who had strayed away from their duties were reclaimed, conversions were constantly made; but when the struggle of England and her colonies against France closed, the little band of missionaries in Maryland and Pennsylvania and their flocks, saw not a ray of cheering hope in the future.

# BOOK IV.

## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE SPANISH COLONIES.

### CHAPTER I.

#### THE CHURCH IN FLORIDA, 1690–1763.

Florida, after a struggle for existence of a century and a quarter, was menaced with ruin. The English colony of Carolina was already an enemy at its very door; the little settlement at St. Augustine was menaced by the sea, which threatened to wash away its fortifications, and by the Spanish government, which seeing its slow progress, proposed to abandon it, and transfer the inhabitants to Pensacola, so as to prevent any encroachments by the French on the west.[1]

In its parish church the Rev. Alonzo de Leturiondo, who had been in temporary charge for some years, was made parish priest and proprietary rector in July, 1694, and he discharged the duties in person or by deputy till early in 1707.[2]

A famous native of Florida, baptized in all probability in the parish church of Saint Augustine, died in Mexico about 1695. This was the Jesuit Father Francis de Florencia, born in Florida in 1620, who took the habit of the Society of Jesus at the age of twenty-three, and who, after being professor of philosophy and theology in the College of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and having rendered great services to the Bishops

[1] Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," pp. 299, 301.

[2] "Noticias relativas à la Iglesia Parroquial de San Agustin."

whose confidence he enjoyed, was sent as procurator of the Mexican province to Madrid and then to Rome. He was subsequently appointed procurator at Seville of all the provinces of his order in the Indies, but finally returned to Mexico, where he died at the age of 75.

He acquired a high reputation as an author, having published a Menology of the illustrious members of the Society in New Spain, a work on the Shrine of Our Lady de los Remedios, a still more important work on the Apparition and Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, a History of the Society of Jesus in New Spain, and other works.[1]

In 1693 Don Andres de Pes proceeded to Pensacola in a frigate, accompanied by a famous priest, Don Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora, professor of mathematics in the University of Mexico. The frigate and a smaller vessel entered the bay on the 8th of April, and the Spanish commander retaining its ancient title, given in honor of Our Lady, named the harbor Santa Maria de Galve, after the chaplain had chanted a Te Deum before a statue of Our Lady. Father Siguenza made a careful survey of the bay, and a site having been determined upon for a settlement, he said the first mass on St. Mark's day, April 25th, and the Spaniards marched in procession, chanting the Litany of Loretto, to the spot selected, where a cross was set up. This was the beginning of Pensacola, the second Spanish town in Florida. The settlement was actually made in 1696 by Don Andres de Arriola, who erected Fort San Carlos on the Barrancas of Santo Tomé. Quarters for the men and a frame church were immediately erected.[2]

At the instance of the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, Don

[1] "Diccionario Universal de Historia y Geografia." Mexico, 1853, vol. iii.

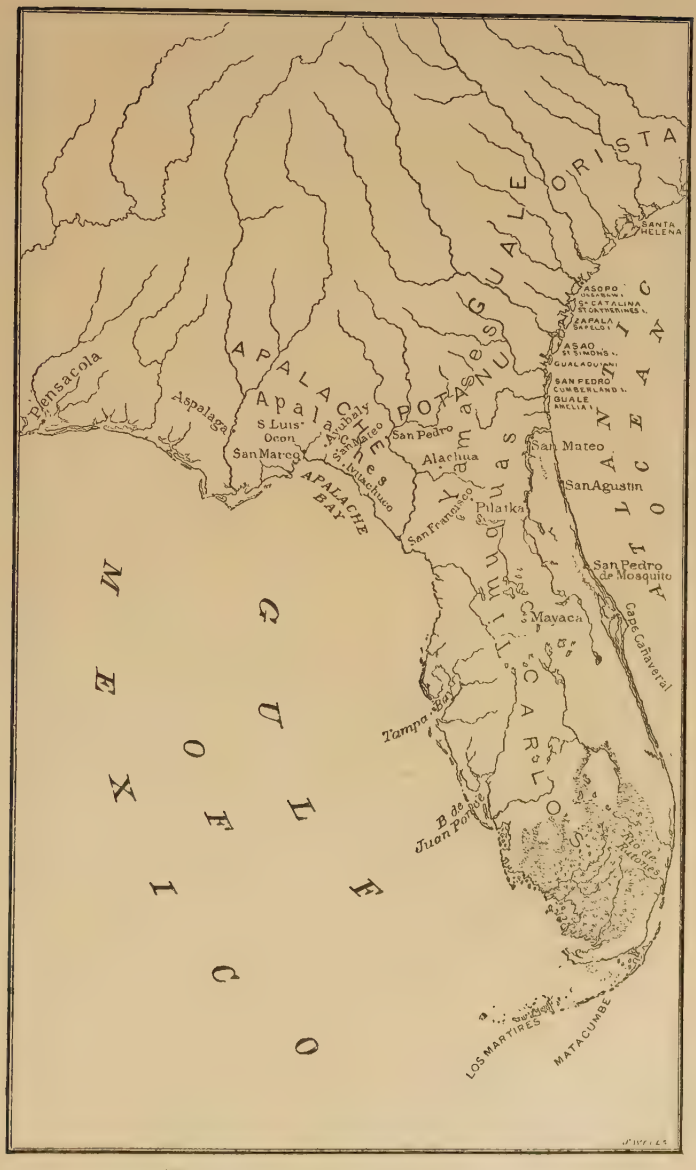
[2] Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," pp. 308–311, 316.

Diego Evelino de Compostela, a band of twenty Franciscan missionaries, under Father Felician Lopez, were sent over to found new Christian communities in tribes which professed a desire of embracing the Christian faith. Eight were sent to the new conversions of Mayaca, Tororo, Añacapi, San Antonio, and St. Joseph; six were selected for the province of Carlos, a son of the Cacique having visited Saint Augustine to solicit missionaries for his people: the rest were sent to other parts.

The Fathers entered on their work with zeal, and at first success seemed to encourage them, but in October, 1696, the heathen Indians of Tororo and the four other towns of that district rose against the Spaniards, killed one of the religious, with a soldier and five Indian converts, burned the churches and mission settlements, and retired to the woods. The surviving missionaries, left without shelter or a flock, returned to Saint Augustine. The field was not abandoned, however. Five religious, with an experienced Superior versed in the language, were sent to reclaim the Indians, and apparently succeeded.[1]

The conversion of the Carlos Indians was undertaken by Father Felician Lopez himself. He sailed from Havana on the 11th of September, 1697, with five other religious and supplies of all kinds for the projected missions, and after touching at Key West, proceeded to the town of Cayucos. The old Cacique, who was very ill, earnestly solicited baptism, and after instruction the sacrament of regeneration was conferred upon him, as death seemed imminent. Meanwhile a house was erected for the residence and chapel of the Franciscan Fathers. But no attention was paid to their instruc-

[1] Letter of F. Martin de Alcano, Provincial, and others to the king, July 18, 1697. Report, August 15, 1698.




FLORIDA IN EARLY SPANISH DAYS.

tions; a hut used for idolatrous ceremonies was thronged, and the Indians even called upon the missionaries to give food and clothing for their gods. When the Franciscans refused, and urged the Indians to abandon their idolatry, the young Cacique told them that his gods were offended at them, and required them to leave the country. The missionaries endeavored to hold their ground, but they were seized and robbed of their provisions, vestments, and chapel service, and taken from Key to Key, till at last they were left naked at Matacumbe. There the vessel which had brought these envoys of Christianity over, found them on a return voyage, and rescued them. Processions of the religious at night are said to have alarmed the Indians at first, and were then made a pretext for their expulsion. The missionaries who left Havana in September, 1697, reached that port again on the 21st of February.[1]

We get some glimpses of the Church and her missions in Florida in 1699, from an unexpected source. The barkentine "Reformation" was wrecked on the coast of Florida in September, 1696, and Jonathan Dickenson drew up a journal of their adventures till they were rescued on the coast by a Spanish party, conveyed to Saint Augustine, and then sent northward along the coast, from one Indian mission to another.

Near where they were wrecked a zealous Franciscan Father had converted a chief, but his tribe demanded that he should renounce it and put the Friars to death. On his refusal they

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[1] A despondent letter of F. Felician from Florida, Sept. 21, 1697. Letters of F. Francis de Contreras, Oct. 16, 1697; Mar. 5, 1698. Report, August 15, 1698. "Extractos de Varias Relaciones." The companions of F. Felician were FF. Ferdinand Samos, Michael Carrillo, Francis of Jesus, and Francis of San Diego, lay brother.

killed him and one of the Franciscans, two others who were there escaping.

The shipwrecked men received very kind treatment at Saint Augustine, and in September set out with an escort. At Santa Cruz mission, two or three leagues from Saint Augustine, they found a large chapel with three bells, and a Franciscan in charge. The Indians went as constantly to their devotions at all times and seasons as any of the Spaniards. The party were lodged in a large house, kept as a warehouse and general place of meeting. San Juan, on an island thirteen leagues further, had its chapel and priests. St. Mary's was next reached, where they found a Franciscan with his church, and his school of Indian boys. Near it was another mission, St. Philip's, which was soon reached, and so they made their way to St. Catharine's Island—"a place called St. Catalina, where hath been a great settlement of Indians, for the land hath been cleared for planting for some miles distant." It was in fact the old mission station where church and convent had been destroyed by the Carolina Indians.[1] Yet Dickenson's narrative shows that these mission stations along the coast not only civilized the Indians and reformed their savage character, but were a life-saving organization on the coast where the shipwrecked found Christian welcome and aid; yet the neighboring English colonies destroyed them.

The Apalache Indians had been forced to come and labor on the fortifications and sea wall at Saint Augustine, and a letter signed by Patricio, chief of Ybitacucho, implores Don Juan de Ayala to represent their case to the king. But the fortifications saved Florida, for though the English from

[1] Dickenson, "God's Protecting Providence, Man's Surest Help and Defence," Philadelphia, 1699. It ran through many editions in England and America.

Carolina in 1702 took and fired the city, the fort resisted their efforts.[1]

The war of the Spanish succession gave South Carolina a pretext for hostility against its Catholic neighbor, Florida, and Governor Moore was eager for the plunder of a Spanish town, and for Indian converts to enslave. He instigated the Apalachicolas to invade the Apalache country, where, after professing friendship, they attacked Santa Fé, one of the chief towns of the province of Timuqua, on the 20th of May, 1702, just before dawn. The Apalachicolas burned the church, but the Indian Catholics succeeded in saving the vestments and pictures. A Spanish force pursuing the enemy was defeated and the commander slain. Governor Moore then induced his colony to fit out an expedition. A land force of militia and Indians under Colonel Daniel attacked St. Augustine in the rear by way of Pilatka, while Governor Moore operated against it with vessels. Daniel occupied the town, the inhabitants retiring to the fort. Governor Moore coming in his vessels by sea, spread devastation along the coast. The Christian Indians on the islands, from Saint Catharine's to Amelia, had in consequence of previous hostilities, withdrawn to St. Mark's Island, where they formed three towns. These were now committed to the flames with their churches and convents, three devoted Franciscan Fathers falling as prisoners into the hands of the enemy, while the Indian converts fled from their savage foe to St. Augustine.[2] Moore having reached the Spanish city with fourteen or fifteen vessels, and effected a junction with Colonel Daniel, endeavored on the 22d of October, 1702, to capture the fort. But the brave Governor, Joseph de Zuñiga, who had

[1] Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," p. 320.

[2] Letter of Governor Zuñiga, Sept. 30, 1702.

received a few soldiers to reinforce his little garrison, held out bravely, the fort resisting all the efforts of the English. Moore sent to the West Indies for heavier artillery; but before it arrived Spanish ships appeared in the harbor with reinforcements under Captain Stephen de Berroa. Moore raised the siege, which had lasted more than fifty days, and finding escape by sea impossible, set fire to his vessels and retreated overland.[1] "Before withdrawing," says a modern writer, "he committed the barbarity of burning the town." The parish church, the church and convent of the Franciscan Fathers, and other shrines perished in the general conflagration;[2] but the plate to the value of a thousand dollars was carried off. A Protestant clergyman writing at the time records one act of vandalism which we cannot omit to state. "To show what friends some of them are to learning and books, when they were at Saint Augustine, they burned a library of books worth about £600, wherein were a collection of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and the Holy Bible itself did not escape, because it was in Latin. This outrage was done as soon as they arrived, by the order of Colonel Daniel."[3]

This was evidently the fine library in the Franciscan convent at Saint Augustine, and it is most creditable that a little place like the capital of Florida, then possessed a library of ecclesiastical works that could win for its extent and value such encomium from an enemy; Father Martin de Aleano, guardian of the convent, proceeded to Spain to portray to the king the ruin of the ancient place.[4]

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[1] Letter of Don Joseph de Zuñiga, San Marcos, Jan. 6, 1703.

[2] Fairbanks, "History of Florida," p. 174.

[3] Rev. Edward Marston to Rev. Dr. Bray, Charlestown, Feb. 2, 170¾. "Documentary History P. E. Church, i., pp. 11, 12.

[4] Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," p. 324. Royal Decrees of April 21, 1714, and Nov. 7, 1720.

That the wanton destruction of a defenceless town was regarded by the Spanish monarch as a mark of English provincial hatred against the Church of God is evidenced by a public act. The antipathy to the true faith with which unprincipled rulers in England had imbued the ignorant settlers of Carolina prompted them to the work of devastation. The Spanish monarch at once ordered the income of vacant bishoprics, the revenues that the episcopate of Spain would have enjoyed had every see been filled, to be applied to rebuild the church and convent, the hallowed shrine and the domestic hearth that Carolinian bigotry had laid in ashes.

The greed of Governor Moore prompted another expedition. If he could not take a Spanish fort he could carry off the Indian converts of Spanish priests to sell as slaves. He raised a force of English and Indians, and made a sudden inroad into the territory of the Apalaches. Lieutenant John Ruiz Mexia, who commanded the little Spanish garrison, prepared with the Apalaches to meet the enemy. Father John de Parga, the missionary at Patali, addressed the Indians, urging them to fight bravely, for God's holy law, as no death could be more glorious than to perish for the faith and truth. When he had given all absolution, Mexia advanced on the enemy with thirty Spanish soldiers and four hundred Apalaches. They wished Father Parga to remain behind, but he would not desert his flock. Mexia twice repulsed the assailants near Ayubale, January 25, 1704, but his ammunition failing, most of his force were killed or taken. He himself was wounded and taken with Father John de Parga and Father Angel Miranda. Many of the prisoners were at once tied to stakes, tortured and burned to death. Father Miranda appealed in vain to Governor Moore to prevent such horrible cruelties on prisoners before his very eyes; but to no purpose. Father Parga was burned at the stake, beheaded,

and his leg hacked off. Another religious, Marcos Delgado, endeavoring to save Father Parga, was slain.

A party of the enemy then approached Patali, and an apostate Indian called to Father Manuel de Mendoza, who opened a window in the palisade, but was at once shot through the head. The town was then fired.

Consternation prevailed throughout the Apalache towns; those which had not been taken, to escape the cruelties they saw perpetrated on their countrymen, submitted to the English and their allies, and of the eleven towns, Ybitacucho alone escaped. Moore sent to Perez, who still held the block-house at San Luis,[1] offering to give up Mexia, Father Miranda, and four soldiers; but as the Spanish officer could not furnish the ransom demanded, they were all burned at the stake. Several of the Indians while undergoing the torture showed in prayer and exhortation the heroism of Christian martyrs, especially Anthony Enixa, of the town of San Luis, and Amador Cuipa Feliciano, of the same town.

Moore retired at last, carrying off nearly a thousand Apalaches to sell as slaves, besides the numbers he had put to death in and after the battle near Ayubale.

When he had retired, Father John de Villalba went with others to the ruined towns. A scene of unparalleled horror met them on every side, bodies half burned hanging from the stakes or pierced by them, men and women scalped, mutilated, and burned. Father Parga's mangled body was found and carried to Ybitacucho; that of Father Mendoza was found amid the ruins of Patali, half burned away, his beads and partly-melted crucifix sunk into the very flesh. Of Father Miranda and Marcos Delgado no trace seems to have been found.[2]

[1] Two miles west of the Tallahassee (Fairbanks).

[2] Letter of Governor Zuñiga, March 30, 1704. "Extractos de una

The martyrdom of Ayubale has no parallel in our annals except in the deaths of Fathers Brébeuf, Lalemant, Daniel, and Garnier, in the Huron country, which has been so often and so pathetically described; but the butcheries perpetrated there were not enacted before the eyes and by the order of the Governor of a Christian colony.

The mission of Ybitacucho was maintained for a while, but the Indians feeling that Spain could not protect them, fled westward, and sought refuge under the cannon of the new French fort at Mobile.

The missions on the Atlantic coast, from St. John's to the Savannah, had been already broken up, the Apalache country was a desert, and others nearer to Saint Augustine had been already invaded.[1]

In the Apalache country alone there had been thirteen considerable towns, each with a very good church and a convent for the missionary; but all were now destroyed,[2] and it is asserted, and is probable, that the churches were plundered by the invaders of all their plate and vestments, of everything indeed that could tempt cupidity.[3]

In January, 1704,[4] Bishop Compostela sent the Licentiate Antonio Ponce de Leon to make a visitation of the afflicted Florida portion of his diocese, and the report of that delegate seems to have led to what had long been desired, the

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informacion fecha en San Augustin de la Florida en 9 dias de Junio del año 1705, por orden de fr. Lucas Alvarez de Toledo," including testimony of several eye-witnesses.

[1] San Joseph de Ocuia, Pilitiriba, and San Francisco.

[2] Don Juan de la Valle, 1729.

[3] Fairbanks, "History of Florida," says, that "the remains of these mission stations may be traced at several localities in Florida," and the outlines of the earthworks around them can be distinctly seen at Lake City and elsewhere.

[4] Auto de 14 de Enero de 1704.

appointment of a bishop to reside in Florida. The first one selected for this position was Don Dionisio Rezinó, a native of Havana, who was preconized Bishop of Adramitum, and auxiliar to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba. He was consecrated at Merida in Yucatan, in 1709.[1] Bishop Rezinó proceeded at once to Florida, and conferred confirmation in the parish church at Saint Augustine, on the 26th of June, 1709, to a multitude of persons of every rank. On the 10th of the following month he made his formal visitation of that church, of which Rev. Peter Lawrence de Acevedo was the proprietary parish priest.[2] Of the length of the Bishop's stay in Florida at this time documents have not yet been found to give any definite account.

In 1720, Bishop Valdez, of Santiago de Cuba, sent one of his priests, John Stephen Romero y Montañez, to make a visitation, which he did strictly, Nov. 7, 1720, censuring somewhat severely the manner in which the Registers had been kept by the Proprietary parish priest, Acevedo. The chaplain of the fort had occasionally acted for the pastor, and now by the visitor's permission the Sacristan Mayor, Francisco Gabriel del Pueyo, who was also notary of the visitor, acted temporarily, and at a later period Rev. John de Paredes, and John Joseph Solana. The long pastorship of Rev. Mr. Acevedo ended August 13, 1735.

The venerable shrine of Nuestra Señora de la Leche erected in the Indian town at Nombre de Dios, where the first mass was celebrated on the 8th of September, 1565, was now to feel the results of the proximity of a nation of hostile faith.

[1] D. Rosain, "Necropolis de la Habana," 1875, p. 133. Bp. Rezinó died in Havana, Sept. 12, 1711, and was interred under the sanctuary of the Church of St. Catharine.

[2] Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," p. 363, places the visitation of Bishop Rezinó in 1721, but the entry of visitation and confirmations in the Register of Saint Augustine show that it was in 1709.

FRANCIS DE SAN BUENAVENTURA TEJADA, O.S.F.

BISHOP OF TRICALI, YUCATAN, GUADALAJARA.

According to a statement of a modern historian, Colonel Palmer with a party of Georgians made a raid into Florida, and approached St. Augustine. His men plundered the chapel, carrying off the church plate, votive offerings, and everything of value. One of the soldiers took the figure of the Infant Saviour from the arms of the statue of Our Lady, and carried it to Colonel Palmer, then at Fort Mosa, who rebuked his men for their sacrilegious act, telling them that they would in time atone it, but he took the figure and threw it from him on the ground.

The next year as the city was again menaced, the Governor of Florida, to prevent Nombre de Dios from being again occupied by the Georgians, commanded the town and chapel to be demolished on the 20th of March, 1728, and a new chapel was erected in a safer spot.

The account proceeds to state that in 1735 Colonel Palmer was slain on the very spot where he threw the Holy Child.[1]

In the war with Carolina the Christian Indians were nearly exterminated, only three hundred survivors gathered under the guns of the fort at Saint Augustine, remaining to represent the once numerous happy towns of native converts.

The missionaries turned their attention to tribes which had hitherto shown little disposition for the faith.[2] In 1726 they had made such progress that there were three Yamassee missions, two dedicated to St. Anthony, and one to St. Diego, each with a convent and church of palmetto; three towns of

[1] This account is given by Williams, "Territory of Florida," New York, 1837, pp. 182–4, citing "Spanish Historians," but to whom he refers I do not know. He gives the date of the profanation of the shrine as 1725, but see Stevens' "History of Georgia," New York, 1847, pp. 145, 173, where it is given as 1727; the site of the first chapel, place of the first mass, and of the second chapel of Our Lady of the Milk are given on page 137 of this work.

[2] Letter of F. Anthony Florencia to the King, 1724.

the Yguasa nation, Santa Catalina, Our Lady of Guadalupe, and St. Joseph, chiefly of old converts, Guadalupe having a church of boards. Nombre de Dios, a Chiluca town of old Christians, had its church of stone; Santa Fé, a Timuquan town; San Luis, an Apalache town; and San Antonio, a Casapulla town; another San Antonio among the Costas, and a third in the Apalache country. Besides, there were a mission among the Macapiras, and one in the Praya nation, and San Juan mission in the province of Apalache, established for all who joined it from the Apalache nation, and the Yamassees. The church in Florida could still report more than a thousand Christians.[1] These Indians had no arms to defend themselves, and the heathen Indians all sided with the English. Each of six new towns had its missionary.

A complaint was made at this time that natives of Florida, who were ordained under the title of missions, went to other places to receive holy orders, and did not return to the peninsula.[2]

St. Mark was fortified in March, 1718, to protect the Indian converts in that district, and steps taken to restore Pensacola, where church, houses, and fort were all insecure. The Confraternity of Our Lady of Soledad maintained the services of the church and funeral expenses.[3]

Steps were taken to found a new Apalache mission of La Soledad, near St. Mark, and two Franciscan Fathers were placed in charge of it. On Santa Rosa Island a fortification was thrown up, and a chapel erected, which Father Manuel de Hoaliso attended. When in 1719 Pensacola was invested by the French under Bienville, and captured, Father Joseph

[1] Visita, Dec., 1726.

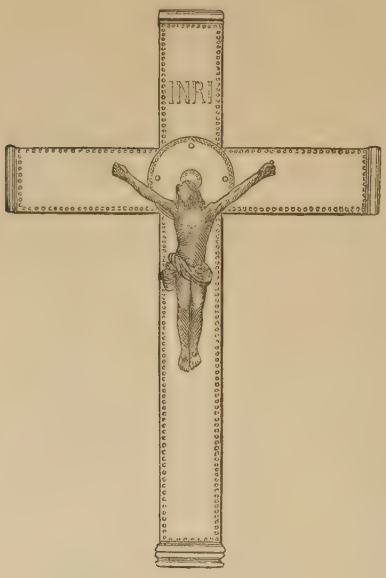
[2] Letter, May 15, 1729, of Don Juan de la Balle.

[3] Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," pp. 336–7, 340.

CHURCH

VIEW OF PENSACOLA ON SANTA ROSA ISLAND IN 1743. FROM THE DRAWING BY DOM. SERRES.

Usache, and Father Joseph del Castillo, of the order of St. Francis, the chaplains, were taken to Havana.[1] The Spaniards recovered the place soon after, only to lose it a second time, Sept. 18, 1719, when Pensacola was taken by the Count de Champmeslin with a powerful squadron. Finding, however, that he could not easily hold the place, he set fire to the fort and town, laying Pensacola completely in ashes, not even sparing the church, and carrying off the sacred vestments and plate. When the site was restored to Spain, Pensacola was rebuilt in a new position near the western extremity of Santa Rosa Island. A substantial fort with palisades stood near, and the church and government house were suitable buildings. A view of the city taken by Dom. Serres in 1743, shows that the second Pensacola church was a peculiarly shaped, octagon structure.[2]




ANCIENT SILVER CRUCIFIX IN THE CHURCH AT PENSACOLA.

Some years later the city was transferred to its present position, and Santa Rosa Island was abandoned, no trace now remaining of the town or church.

[1] Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," p. 361 ; Morfi, "Memorias para la Historia de Texas," p. 84.

[2] Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," p. 361 ; Roberts, "An Account of the first Discovery and Natural History of Florida," London, 1763, pp. 11, 91.

Of the earlier churches of Pensacola, dedicated it would seem to Saint Michael, a relic was preserved to our times. It was an elegant silver crucifix of ancient work, probably the gift of some benefactor of the Church in the last century.

A most important event for Florida was the appointment as Bishop of Tricali, and auxiliar to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, of Father Francis of Saint Bonaventure Martinez de Texada Diez de Velasco, a native of Seville, a member of the Recollect reform of the Franciscan order. He had been professor of philosophy and theology, and guardian of the convent at Seville. After his consecration he crossed over to Florida in 1735, making a visitation of the whole province, as there are evidences of his having done in 1742 and 1745. He resided for ten years at Saint Augustine, in a house occupying the site which the United States Government, in disregard of its being property of the Catholic Church, bestowed on the Protestant Episcopal body.

On his arrival he found the population of Saint Augustine to be 1,509 souls, attended by the parish priest, Peter Lawrence de Acevedo, then more than eighty years of age —too old to officiate; the Sacristan Mayor, Francis Gabriel del Pueyo; John Joseph Solana as assistant, and a chaplain in the fort. Before the close of April, 1736, the Bishop had confirmed 630 Spaniards and 143 slaves and free negroes.

From the time of the Carolinian invasion the Hermitage—the Shrine of La Soledad, which had too been used as an hospital—had served as a parish church. This seemed unbecoming to the good bishop, and knowing that the English colonists mocked at the Spaniards on account of the poverty to which Governor Moore had reduced them, he restored this chapel, strengthening the walls, and adding a stone sacristy so as to

serve more worthily till the real parish church was erected. He also obtained suitable vestments. The classical school which he opened soon gave him young clerics whom he trained to assist in the sanctuary, and to whom he gave the habit.[1]

The occupation of Georgia by Oglethorpe completed the ruin of the Indian missions, the natives abandoning their villages from fear or interest.

The bishop in his letters makes no allusion to the Indian missions of which the Governor, Manuel Joseph de Justiz, draws a deplorable picture. The scanty remnant of the once flourishing missions was in the hands of young, inexperienced, and indifferent religious, so that the Indians showed little piety or knowledge of their faith. The governor bears testimony to the zeal and exertions of Bishop Tejada, who had aroused piety among the Spanish settlers, having processions of the Rosary on holidays, reviving the frequentation of the sacraments, and omitting no means to draw all to the fear of God. His school was the only one in Florida, all the rest having been closed since the English invasion.[2]

Although the king had appropriated forty thousand dollars to rebuild the parish church, there was nothing to show for it but four bare walls,[3] and though Bishop Tejada and others exerted themselves to have the church completed, it was never done, and remained in an unfinished condition till Florida passed out of the hands of the Catholic king.

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[1] Letters of Bishop Tejada to the king, April 29, Aug. 31, 1736. The salary of the parish priest was $389; the sacristan mayor, $200; the chaplain of the troops, who was vicar of the parish priest, $320; an organist, $275. Letter of Gov. Monteano. The little chapel was about fifty feet by thirty-six. Most of the congregation remained in the street.

[2] Letter of Gov. Justiz, Nov. 14, 1737.

[3] Letter of Gov. Monteano, Nov. 31, 1738.

A question of the right of sanctuary occurred at Saint Augustine soon after the coming of the Bishop. Francis del Moral had been superseded as governor by Manuel Joseph de Justiz in 1737, yet he not only refused to recognize his successor, but even to allow him to land. As not unfrequently happens, Moral contrived to form a party who regarded him as an injured man, the victim of a conspiracy, and he gathered his adherents in the fort. The temperate course of the new governor, however, caused the band of malcontents to decrease rapidly, and Moral finding himself deserted, fled to the convent of the Franciscan Fathers, where he claimed the right of sanctuary. Not to violate the prerogatives of holy Mother Church, Governor Justiz appealed to the Bishop to suspend the right of sanctuary so as to enable him to arrest the offender and send him to Spain for such trial as the king might appoint. Having obtained it he proceeded to the convent, when Moral surrendered himself a prisoner.[1]

As we have seen, money had been sent from Spain to rebuild the Franciscan convent; but official dishonesty prevailed, the money was misapplied. Indeed, up to this time nothing had been done except to run up a wretched chapel with four stone walls and a palmetto roof, while near by stood huts like those of the Indians, to serve for a convent. The eight Indian towns near the city[2] were as badly off, each missionary living in a hut like his flock, with a chapel but little better.

At St. Mark's on the Apalache River, there was a small garrison in charge of a Franciscan Father, who attended also

[1] Letter of Governor Justiz, Mar. 22, 1737.

[2] Nombre de Dios at Macariz, 43 souls; San Antonio de la Costa, 23; N$^{a}$.S$^{a}$. de Guadalupe at Tolomato, 29; N$^{a}$.S$^{a}$. de la Asuncion at Palicia, 48; N$^{a}$.S$^{a}$. de la Concepcion at Pocotalaca, 44; N$^{a}$.S$^{a}$ del Rosario at la Punta, 51; Santo Domingo de Chiquito, 55; San Nicolas de Casapullas, 71. Letter of Gov. Monteano, Mar. 3, 1738.

eight Indian families at Tamasle. The Fathers here had a well-built convent.[1]

St. Joseph's, near Point Escondido, had also a handsome church.

The province of the Franciscans, known as "Santa Elena de la Florida," was disturbed from about this time by national rivalries, the religious born in Spain and those born in America forming two parties. The elections held at the chapters brought out these rivalries. That held in 1745 was declared by the higher authorities to be null, and a Provincial was named by the Commissary General of the Indies.[2]

In 1743 the Jesuit Fathers, Joseph Mary Monaco and Joseph Xavier de Alana, sailed from Havana to attempt a mission in Southern Florida, and landed at the mouth of the Rio de Ratones, near Cape Florida, on the 13th of July. The Indians there, at the Keys and of Carlos, and Santa Lucia and Mayaca at the north were to be the field for their zeal. With the help of the sailors the mission priests reared a hut for a dwelling and chapel, and began their ministry. A fish painted on a board was worshipped in a hut by these Indians, the chief medicine-man calling himself bishop. Sacrifices of children on important occasions were common, and the Indians were cruel, lewd, and rapacious. They showed no inclination to listen to the missionaries, whom they tolerated only from fear of the Governor of Havana. His favor they wished to conciliate in order to be able to sell fish at that port. Discouraging as the first attempts were, the Jesuit

[1] The statement that there was a Jesuit house here, made by Capt. Robinson (Roberts' "Florida," p. 97), is certainly wrong. But where sober historians can talk of an adventurer like Priber as being a Jesuit (Stevens' "Georgia"), we may expect any absurdity. There may have been at St. Mark's, the house of a secular parish priest.

[2] Fogueras, "Satisfaccion que se da sobre el derecho fundado á la devolucion que declaró de las elecciones del capitulo," etc. Mexico, 1747.

missionaries persevered, and a community of Catholic Indians was formed there in time, and retained the faith till the period of the Seminole War, when they were transported to Indian Territory, although these Spanish Indians had taken no part in the hostilities against the whites.[1]

Fugitive slaves from Georgia and Carolina reached Florida, and Bishop Tejada extended his care to them at Fort Mosé, where they were placed, assigning a young ecclesiastic to instruct and prepare them for baptism.

In 1740 General Oglethorpe with 2,000 regulars, provincials, and Indians, and a fleet of five ships and two sloops, laid siege to Saint Augustine, but the stout Governor Monteano, who refused to surrender, held out bravely till provisions came to save the garrison and citizens from starvation, when the founder of Georgia raised the siege.[2] During these days of trial Bishop Tejada roused the zeal and piety of the people, and offered constant prayers for the deliverance of the city. When the enemy retired, and the citizens could replace their prayers for Divine aid by a joyous "Te Deum," he wrote a Relation of the Siege which was printed at Seville. It opens with the words, "Ave Maria!"[3]

After his visitation in 1745, Bishop Tejada, who had done so much for religion in Florida, was presented for the see of Yucatan, and departed from the scene of his first episcopal labors.[4]

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[1] Letter of FF. Joseph Mary Monaco, S.J., etc., to Governor-Gen. of Cuba.

[2] Stevens, "History of Georgia," New York, 1847, i., pp. 170–179.

[3] "Ave Maria! Relacion que hace el Ilus. Señor D. Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura, Recollecto de la orden de N. P. S. Francisco, Obispo, etc." Seville, 1740. M. de Civezza, p. 534.

[4] He took possession of the see of Yucatan, June 15, 1746, and made two visitations of the diocese, not omitting the smallest ranches. He erected a diocesan seminary, rebuilt several parish churches from his

Saint Augustine was saved, but the country had been ravaged on all sides; the little Indian missions had been again and again decimated, till in 1753 there were only four, Tolomato, Pocatalapa, Palica, and La Punta, the whole containing only 136 souls.[1]

The parochial charge of the ancient church had devolved in February, 1743, on Rev. Francis Xavier Arturo, a parish priest who administered for eight years assisted by the Rev. John Joseph Solana, and the Deputy John C. Paredes, after whose services in December, 1752, Fathers belonging to the Franciscan mission, Uriza, Ortiz, and the Commissary Visitor Francis Rabelo and Father John Anthony Hernandez, alone ministered to the Catholic body till June, 1754, when Rev. Mr. Solana resumed his duties and discharged them with occasional aid for the next nine years.

Reduced as Saint Augustine was, and almost stripped of the great circle of Indian missions, which had been the diadem of the Florida church, it had not been deprived of epis-

own income; adorned others. His charity extended to Spain, where he erected and endowed a refuge for female penitents. In 1752 he was translated to the see of Guadalajara, and on taking possession hung his jeweled cross on the statue of the Blessed Virgin, wearing a wooden one instead. There, as in Florida and Yucatan, he was diligent in visitations, zealous for the worship of God, building and adorning churches, and to facilitate pilgrimages to the Shrine of Our Lady of Tzapopan, erected three fine bridges on roads leading to it. He also spent large sums to enlarge and beautify the church. Always deeply pious, mortified, content with the poorest food and raiment, this most apostolic bishop died Dec. 20, 1760, after the second visitation of his diocese, from disease contracted in riding on horseback to all the missions of Texas, then embraced in the diocese of Guadalajara. He is to this day regarded as one of the holiest men who have adorned the Mexican hierarchy. He began and closed his episcopal career in parts now in the United States. I owe the portrait here engraved to the extreme kindness of Father Macias, who had the photograph taken from the original painting still preserved. "Concilios Provinciales de Mexico," II., pp. 348–9, 364.

[1] From Manuel de San Antonio, 1753.

copal care and vigilance. As successor to the venerated Bishop Tejada of Tricali, came the Rt. Rev. Peter Ponce y Carrasco, Bishop of Adramitum, and auxiliar of Cuba, who resided in the province from 1751 to 1755, and with his Secretary Justo Lorenzo Lopez Barroso began a formal visitation of that part of the diocese, June 8, 1754.

But the grasp of Catholic Spain on her ancient province became daily more precarious, and seemed paralyzed when the city of Havana fell into the hands of England in 1762. That event led indirectly to an episcopal visitation of Florida, the last it was to enjoy for many years. When Havana was captured by the English, the Rt. Rev. Peter Augustine Morell de Santa Cruz, a learned and zealous prelate, occupied the see of Santiago de Cuba, and as he resided at the time in Havana, he fell into the hands of the enemy. The dignitary of the Catholic Church was treated with the usual insolence by the Earl of Albemarle, the British commander. When he declined to aid that nobleman in extorting forced levies from the clergy of his diocese, Bishop Morell was accused of conspiracy, and summoned to appear before the representative of the British crown. Declining to acknowledge such arbitrary measures, he was seized by a file of soldiers, Nov. 4, 1762, and carried in his chair amid the tears of his flock to a man-of-war which sailed off with him as a prisoner to Charleston, South Carolina. He was thus the first Catholic bishop to enter the limits of the British colonies.[1]

After being kept on the vessel in that port for two weeks, Bishop Morell was sent to Saint Augustine, which was

[1] The arrest of Bishop Morell was the subject of an oil painting in the Cathedral at Havana: he was represented as seated in his chair in his episcopal robes and carried by four British soldiers. This painting with the portraits of the previous bishops of Santiago de Cuba was destroyed by order of Bishop Espada. The arrest is the subject of a very curious

still under the flag of Spain.[1] Feeling that this stay might be but a brief one, the zealous prelate made the term of his unexpected residence in Florida a season of revived devotion and discipline in that part of his diocese. He began a formal visitation at Saint Augustine, January 30, 1763, recording his approval of the regularity of the parochial service and records. Between the 29th of December, 1762, and the 11th of April, of the following year, he conferred the sacrament of confirmation on 639 persons.[2] In fact, his zeal and eloquence rendered his sojourn a mission for the faithful.

In order to recover the city of Havana, Spain ceded Florida to England, on the 10th of February, 1763. After a time the clergy in Cuba obtained a vessel which was sent to convey the Bishop back to his see.[3]

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poem by Don Diego de Campos, printed at the press of the Computo Eclesiastico, Havana, 8vo, 23 pp., with an illustration by Baez. This poem in the dialect of the Cuban peasantry has been reprinted in the "Parnaso Cubano," by the elegant scholar Don Antonio Lopez Prieto. I am indebted for a copy and information to Señor Bachiller y Morales, and Señor Guiteras of Philadelphia. As an illustration of an event connected with the church in this country the poem is extremely curious.

[1] He arrived in Florida the 7th or 8th of December.

[2] "Noticias relativas á la Iglesia Parroquial de San Agustin de la Florida."

[3] Rt. Rev. Peter Morell de Santa Cruz was born in 1694 in Santiago de los Caballeros, in the island of Santo Domingo, of which his ancestors were early colonists. He was ordained April 24, 1718, was Canon of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, Dean of the Chapter of Santiago de Cuba, was nominated in 1745 to the See of Nicaragua, and became Bishop of Santiago de Cuba in 1753, receiving episcopal consecration, Sept. 8, 1755. He founded an hospital at Guanabacoa, and began a similar institution at Guines. He distributed $800 a month to the poor, and $60 every Saturday. For the negroes he showed great charity, taking measures to secure their religious instruction. He died at Havana, Dec. 30, 1768, his last hours being disturbed by a fearful hurricane in which he thought only of his poor. Rosain, "Necropolis de la Habana," Habana, 1875, pp. 153–7.

At the time of the cession most of the Spanish inhabitants remained, but the arbitrary and rapacious conduct of the first English commander led to a general emigration. The unfinished walls of the parish church, the church at Tolemato, sole remnant of the Indian towns near the city, the Franciscan convent and the temporary parish church, both in a ruinous state, and a steeple of a church west of the town alone remained to betoken the long Catholic occupation. It was at this time probably that the ornamentation around the entrance to the chapel in the fort, as too Catholic to suit the temper of the new occupants, was defaced and mutilated; reduced to the condition in which it has long been.[1]

The accompanying plan of the city of St. Augustine in 1763, will enable the reader to see the position of the spots connected with the ecclesiastical history of that ancient place.[2]

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[1] Romans, "Florida," p. 263.

[2] (M.) The unfinished Parish Church, 6 varas high, 35 x 40, to replace that destroyed by Gov. Moore. (G.) Temporary stone Parish Church fitted up and enlarged by Bishop Tejada; 47 x 66 varas. (2.) Church of Tolemato, Indian town. (C.) Franciscan Convent and Chapel, wrested from the Catholic Church by the United States Government, and still retained. (H.) Hospital, 44 x 51 varas. (Q.) Gate leading to chapel of Nuestra Señora de la Leche. (I.) House of the Auxiliary Bishop, 35 x 51 varas, wrested from the Catholic Church by the United States Government and given to the Episcopalians. House of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, 37 x 31 varas, third block from hospital on opposite side of street.

MAP OF ST. AUGUSTINE IN 1763. BY PABLO CASTELLO.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE CHURCH IN TEXAS, 1690–1763.

THOUGH the first religious ministrations in Texas, of which we have any definite historical information, were those of the French secular and regular priests, who accompanied the wild and unfortunate expedition of La Salle to conquer the Spanish mining country, the church which grew up in that province, and has left the names drawn from the calendar to town, and headland, and river, was connected with that of Mexico.

The pioneer Spanish priest was the Franciscan Father Damian Mazanet, who accompanied the expedition of Alonso de Leon in 1689. So promising a field for the Gospel laborers opened there before this son of Saint Francis, that he bent all his energies to effect the establishment of permanent missions beyond the Rio Grande.[1]

He depicted the success of missions among the Asinais in such sanguine colors, that he obtained the needed civil and ecclesiastical authority for his undertaking. The Apostolic College of Queretaro, founded by Father Anthony Linaz, had at this time formed a new corps of missionaries replete with energy, and inspired by all the fervor of the earliest period of the Franciscan order. It was from these exemplary religious that the little body was selected to evangelize

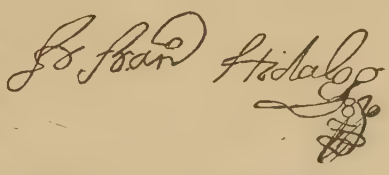
[1] Arricivita, "Cronica Serafica y Apostolica del Colegio de Santa Cruz de Queretaro," p. 213.

the province of Texas. Father Damian Mazanet's auxiliaries were Fathers Michael Fontcubierta, Francis Casañas of Jesus Mary, regarded in life and death as eminent in sanctity, Anthony Bordoy and Anthony Perera. The missionaries left Monclova on the 27th of March, 1690, and crossing the Rio Grande, proceeded to the country of the Asinais, which they reached about the middle of May. The friendly Indians received them with joy, and the mission of San Francisco de los Texas was established. A temporary chapel was reared on the 24th, and the next day, the feast of Corpus Christi was celebrated with great solemnity. A site was selected for a church and convent, which were erected within a month. Father Damian then returned to Mexico, leaving Father Fontcubierta as Superior of the Texas mission. The docility of the Indians in receiving instruction in the truths of Christianity encouraged the missionaries so much, that Father Casañas founded a second station under the invocation of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, building his house and chapel with his own hands, and studying the language with such zeal that he was soon able to preach to his flock in their native tongue. Affliction soon came. Small-pox broke out and ravaged the villages. The sick became the especial care of the Franciscans, who were unremitting in their devotion to the afflicted, most of whom received baptism before death. Father Fontcubierta, the Superior, sparing himself in nothing, was stricken down by the disease, and expired in the arms of his weeping companions, February 5, 1691.[1]

Meanwhile Domingo Teran de los Rios was appointed Governor of Coahuila and Texas, and as preparations were

[1] Life of Father Fontcubierta in Espinosa, "Chronica Apostolica y Seraphica," p. 258; Life of Father Casañas, p. 278; Life of Father Perera, p. 309; Morfi, "Memorias para la Historia de la provincia de Texas," pp. 54–83.

made to found eight new missions, Father Mazanet set out with Father Hidalgo, two other Fathers from the college at Queretaro, two Observantine, and two Discalced Franciscans. These Fathers reached the mission of San Francisco on the 2d of August, and chanted a Te Deum in thanksgiving.[1] The next Superior, Father Francis Hidalgo, set to work to establish new missions, but Teran acted with little judgment. He took no proper steps to maintain communication with Spanish posts, so as to secure supplies for the missionaries. Worse still he left a party of dissolute soldiers, who, instead of being a protection to the missionaries, excited the Indians against them. Several of the Fathers retired, but the more zealous remained, and encouraged by their success, deputed Father Casañas to proceed to Mexico, in order to obtain a regular establishment of the mission by royal order, which was in fact done, though too late, Dec. 30, 1692.[2]



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER FRANCIS HIDALGO.

The second winter proved especially severe, and in the spring of 1693 the soldiers abandoned their posts. Father Francis Hidalgo and his associates had visited the Caddodachos and the Chomas, the tribe called Jumanas in New Mexico. But as winter approached, the Franciscans finding themselves isolated, exposed to attack from the French and their allies, and hearing no tidings of Father Casañas, re-

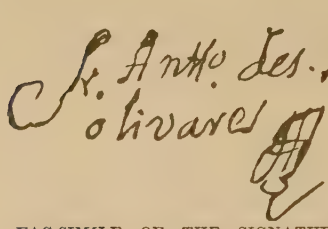
[1] Letter of Father Damian Mazanet, Mision de S. Fco. de los Tejas, Aug. 20, 1691 in "Documentos para la Historia Eclesiastica y Civil de la Provincia de Tejas," vol. I. "Parecer del P^e^Comisario, F. Damian Maçanet," ibid., p. 173; "Diario del Viaje," p. 177.

[2] Altamiro, "Testimonio" in Yoakum, "History of Texas," i., p. 390.

solved to retire to the missions south of the Rio Grande till the authorities in church and state placed the Texas mission on a solid basis. To this the Indians made every opposition, asking whether they had not done all that the Fathers required, and shown docility to their instructions. The Franciscans consoled them by promises that they should not be forsaken, and burying the bells and heavier objects of their chapels and houses, the Fathers set out in October, 1693, for the nearest post or mission amid their own tears and those of their neophytes.[1]

Father Hidalgo did not abandon the project of converting the Texas Indians. He drew up a statement of the importance of the work, and forwarded it to the King of Spain. War delayed a reply, but a royal decree, August 18, 1708, authorized him to proceed in its establishment.[2]

Meanwhile the Franciscans of the Apostolic College of Zacatecas were at work. They founded a mission of San Juan Bautista on the Sabinas, and pushing on opened a new mission on the first day of January, 1700, on the banks of the Rio Grande, to which that on the Sabinas was transferred, retaining its name. The Franciscan Father who effected this was anxious to carry the mission



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER OLIVARES.

[1] Espinosa, "Chronica Apostolica y Seraphica," pp. 255–59, 279, 309, 407; Arricivita, "Cronica Serafica y Apostolica," pp. 214, 219. The Fathers who went to Texas in 1691 with Father Hidalgo were Nicolas Revo, Michael Estrelles, Peter Fortuni, Peter Garcia, Ildephonsus Monge, Joseph Saldaña, Anthony Miranda, and John de Garaycoechea.

[2] Arricivita, p. 221.

work still further, and leaving his two companions at San Juan Bautista, Father Anthony de San Buenaventura y Olivares, with Father Isidro Felis de Espinosa, crossed the Rio Grande, and with a small escort, advanced to the Rio Frio, where he found the Indians docile and ready to listen to instructions. He remained some time among them, teaching them the prayers which they recited with him. Returning to the Rio Grande he informed his associates of the favorable aspect of the country, and proceeded to Coahuila, where Philip Charles Galindo, Bishop of Guadalajara, was then on a visitation, to propose a mission beyond the Rio Grande.

The Bishop extended the visitation of his diocese at this time to the mission of Dolores, where he held a meeting of the missionaries and civil officers. By general consent steps were taken to establish four missions on the Rio Grande. These were maintained till 1718, when the chief mission was transferred to the San Antonio.[1]

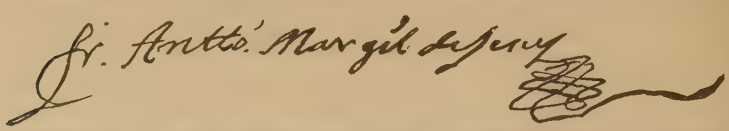
The royal officers and soldiers, however, in the time of the former mission had not only under one pretext and another misappropriated the funds and stores intended for the work of Christianizing the Indians, but had continued to make so many claims against the Fathers, that the missionaries, who had suffered every privation, were reluctant to expose themselves to a similar experience. For some years Father Hidalgo found his efforts to re-establish the mission fruitless. Still with Father Salazar in 1698 he was instrumental in establishing churches for converting the Indians at La Punta and on the Sabinas, which bore the names of Dolores and San Juan Bautista. These missions, though south of the Rio Grande, were finally transferred to San Antonio, in Texas.[2]

[1] Espinosa, "Chronica Apostolica y Seraphica," i., pp. 416, 461–6.

[2] Arricivita, pp. 215, 216.

In 1715 it was at last determined to revive the mission among the Texas or Asinais Indians. The Venerable Anthony Margil had founded the Apostolic College of Our Lady of Guadalupe at Zacatecas, and that institution with the college at Queretaro undertook the spiritual conquest.[1]

The missionaries from Our Lady of Guadalupe had as Superior the Venerable and holy Father Anthony Margil, "President of the Conversions of Zacatecas," while those



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF THE V. FATHER ANTHONY MARGIL.

from the College of the Holy Cross were directed by Father Isidro Felis de Espinosa, his future biographer.

The two bodies met at the Mission of San Juan Bautista which had been already transferred to the banks of the Rio Grande,[2] and after mass on the 25th of April all assembled to give the viaticum to the Venerable Anthony Margil, who lay at the point of death with fever. His fellow missionaries deeming it impossible for him to recover or take part in the new effort to win the Texas Indians to the faith, sorrowfully bade him farewell and proceeded on their way. It was not till the 28th of June that they reached the Texas Indians, who chanted the calumet of welcome to them. The mission of San Francisco was restored, and a wooden church erected

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[1] The latter institution sent five religious, Fathers Francis Hidalgo, Gabriel de Vergara, Benedict Sanchez, Manuel Castellaños, Peter Perez de Mesquia; the new college at Zacatecas, Fathers Mathias Sanz de San Antonio, Peter de Mendoza, and Augustine Patron. Morfi, "Memorias para la Historia de Texas," p. 101.

[2] Margil, "Informe," Presidio Real, Feb. 26, 1716. "Documentos para la Historia Eclesiastica y Civil," i., pp. 278, 333.

with a thatched roof. Then Father Espinosa selected a site some twenty miles distant among the friendly Ainai, where he planted the mission cross of "La Purisima Concepcion." Each mission had its banner with its name emblazoned on it, and each had all requisites for divine service in the chapel.

The next step was to erect a temporary structure for that purpose. The missionary and a single companion at once set to work to erect a temporary structure of puncheons, with a thatched roof for church and house. The rainy season compelled the Fathers ere long to select more suitable sites and put up more solid structures.

The Asinais worshipped Caddi or Ayi, the great Captain, and had a kind of temple in which a sacred fire was kept. The medicine-men exercised great influence, and were soon arrayed against the missionaries, accusing them of killing children by baptism. The Franciscan Fathers, though abandoned by most of the soldiers, sent especially to succor them in danger, and deprived of most of the provisions intended for their maintenance, began their labors zealously. They made lists of the inmates of every ranch and house, and gave instructions not only in the chapel, but at each dwelling. The women showed more docility than the men, who were more influenced by the chenesi or medicine-men. Disease was frequent, and after mass the missionary would ascertain the name of the sick in order to visit them. The first year the great chief of the Texas Indians fell sick, and listened to the instructions of Father Espinosa, from whom he finally solicited baptism. "I gave it," says the missionary, "increasing with my tears, the water in the vessel I used." The converted chief Francis survived several days, exhorting his kindred and tribe to listen to the missionaries. Father Vergara converted Sata Yaexa, a great medicine-man, the keeper of the sacred fire, who becoming a Christian

made open acknowledgment of the impostures he had practised. Here, as elsewhere, the dying infants constituted the greater part of those baptized, and then the mothers, won by the interest the missionaries showed in their little ones, listened to the words of the Gospel.[1]

Father Margil had been left by his dejected companions apparently in his agony on the banks of the Rio Grande, but it was not in the designs of God that Texas was to be deprived of the labors, the example, and the merits of that illustrious and holy disciple of the seraphic Saint Francis of Assisium.

The illustrious servant of God, the Venerable Father Anthony Margil of Jesus, is one of the most remarkable men in the history of the Church in America, whether we regard his personal sanctity, the gifts with which he was endowed, or the extent and importance of his labors for the salvation of souls. His life in all its details has been subjected to the rigid scrutiny and discussion of a process of canonization at Rome, so that no national or local exaggeration can be suspected.

He was born at Valencia, August 18, 1655, of pious parents, John Margil and Esperanza Ros, receiving in baptism the name Agapitus Louis Paulinus Anthony. His home was a school of virtue, where he learned piety, devotion, mortification, and a love for the poor. As a child he deprived himself of food to give to the needy: his recreations evinced his piety. From the age of reason he placed himself in the arms of his Crucified Lord, and showed such a comprehension of religious truths, that at the age of nine he was allowed to make his first communion. From that mo-

[1] Espinosa, "Chronica Apostolica y Seraphica," Mexico, 1746, pp. 410–413, 440–2.

ment the Church became a home. He served all the masses he could, and the hours not spent in school or study, or in services required by his parents were passed before the altar. At the age of sixteen, with the approval of his parents, he sought admission into the strict Franciscan convent, known as the "Crown of Christ." As a novice he wished to do the humblest and most laborious duties in the house, was obedient, mortified, full of prayer, strict in fulfilling all points of the rule, but always cheerful and affable. When sent to Denia to study, he pursued the same course, giving his leisure to the service of others, his nights to prayer. Though he appeared to give to study only occasional moments, when he might be seen reading by the sanctuary lamp, he never showed any want of knowledge of the studies pursued in his class. While pursuing his theological course his life was the same, his gentle piety winning him the nickname of the "Nun" among his fellow-students. When the time for his ordination approached, he prepared for it with extreme recollection and the deepest reverence. So high was the estimate of his learning, piety, and prudence, that at the next provincial chapter, the young priest was empowered to preach and hear confessions. On receiving his faculties he began his missionary career at Onda and Denia, where his eloquence in the pulpit, and his wisdom in the confessional produced great fruit.

When Father Anthony Linaz appealed for twenty-four Fathers for the American mission, Father Anthony Margil offered his services, and with the consent of his superiors, prepared to embark. His mother felt his going deeply, but he comforted her, promising to assist her at death. He joined Father Linaz in Cadiz, and after a long voyage, which he made a constant mission, he reached Vera Cruz, to find it a mass of smoking ruins, the city having been fired by

French pirates. He proceeded on foot, trusting to charity, and reached the Convent of the Holy Cross in Queretaro, in August, 1683. Though young he was at once associated with older and experienced Fathers in giving missions at Queretaro and Mexico, edifying all by his zeal and mortification. Having been selected to labor in Yucatan, he journeyed on foot to Vera Cruz, where he embarked, and reaching his destination, began with Father Melchior of Jesus, his mission life among the Indians, till the two apostles sank under their labors and mortifications near Chiapa, and received extreme unction. Recovering by what seemed a miracle, they traversed Central America, giving constant missions in what are now the Republics of that part of the Continent.

He converted the Talamancas, Terrabas, and other tribes, and was preparing to confirm his labors by establishing solid missions, when he and his associate were summoned back to the college. The two Franciscans, full of obedience at once set out, resigning the Indian missions into the hands of the Bishop of Nicaragua. Their superior, learning the important work on which they were engaged, revoked his order, and the Bishop of Nicaragua assigned to them the district of Vera Paz, where they labored among the Choles and Lacandones, though their lives were in constant danger. Such was the ability of Father Margil in acquiring languages, in comprehending the pagan ideas and refuting them, in giving solid instruction, and in guiding neophytes in the path of Christian life, that bishops placed bodies of missionaries even of other orders under his direction, though the humble religious in vain endeavored to avoid such a position. He crowned his labors by establishing a Missionary College de Propaganda Fide in the city of Guatemala, of which he was elected Guardian. His labors and his knowledge seemed supernatural: in many cases he appeared to be laboring in

VEN. ANTHONY MARGIL OF JESUS, O.S.F.

FOUNDER OF THE TEXAS MISSIONS

two places at once, and the secret idolatries of the Indians which escaped the knowledge of others he exposed and suppressed.

From Guatemala he was summoned to Zacatecas to organize an Apostolic College in that city, and in this new field of labor he seemed again to multiply himself, directing the institution under his care, preaching, giving missions, visiting and reclaiming neglected hamlets, as well as discharging many special duties assigned to him by the Commissary General of the Indies, for with all his prodigious activity in the ministry, Father Margil's accuracy in all theological points was as great as though his days were spent in constant study.

He next by order of the king established missions in Nayarit, which had long defied all efforts to convert the tribe. Such had been the labors of this great man when he went with his little band of Fathers to found missions in Texas.[1] Though left in a dying state he recovered, and following the other missionaries, founded the mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe among the Nacogdoches, eight leagues from Concepcion, from which he wrote, July 20, 1716. Here a wretched hut was the convent of the four Zacatecas Fathers, but as happy as in a palace, they recited the office in common, had their hours of meditation, hours for the study of the Indian language, and time for cultivating the ground for their own support, and time for working on their church and convent.[2]

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[1] Espinosa, "El Peregrino Septentrional Atlante," Mexico, 1737; Valencia, 1742; "Nuevas Empressas," Mexico, 1747; Villaplana, "Vida portentosa del Americano Septentrional Apostol, El. V. P. F. Anto. Margil," Madrid, 1775; Velasco, "Tierno Recuerdo," Mexico, 1726; Guerra, "Segunda Nube," Mexico, 1726; Aguado, "Voces que hicicron Eco," Mexico, 1726; Guzman, "Notizie della Vita del Ven. Servo di Dio Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesus," Rome, 1836; Arricivita, "Cronica Serafica y Apostolica," Mexico, 1792, ii., pp. 1–98.

[2] Carta del Mui Rev. y Ven. Padre Antonio Margil, Mision de N. S. de Guadalupe de los Texas, "Documentos," i., p. 337.

Soon after the mission of San José, seven leagues northeast of Concepcion, was founded among the Nassonis.[1]

In January, 1717, the Venerable Father Anthony Margil, suffering from cold and hardship, founded the Mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores—Our Lady of Dolors—among the Ays Indians west of the Sabine; but the floods of spring prevented his reaching the Yatasees, where he had projected another mission. In March, however, he reached the Adayes Indians on the Arroyo Honda, fifty leagues from Dolores. Here within the limits of the present State of Louisiana, and near the sheet of water still called Spanish Lake, this venerable servant of God founded the mission of San Miguel de Linares, stationing as missionary at that most advanced post of his Christian conquest Father Augustine Patron de Guzman with a lay brother. Returning to Dolores he was deprived by death of the services of his humble companion, Brother Francis of San Diego. A mission among the Caddodachos was concerted by him and Father Francis Hidalgo, but the guides on whom they depended failed them.[2]

Laboring among his Indians at Adayes, good Father Margil heard that the French at Natchitoches had never had a priest there. His charitable zeal impelled him to journey fifty miles on foot in order to say mass for the French, preach to them, and hear their confessions so as to enable them to receive holy communion. So fruitful were the labors of the Spanish priest at the neglected post, that the Vicar-General at Mobile wrote to thank him

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[1] "Representacion," July 22, 1716, in Documentos, i., p. 278.

[2] Representacion hecha por el muy Rev. Padre Antonio Margil, Dolores, Feb. 13, 1718. "Documentos," p. 360. Carta del Padre Hidalgo. Ib., Espinosa, "Chronica Apostolica y Seraphica," p. 413.

warmly for his Christian charity to the French at Natchitoches.[1]

The missionaries endured great privations. As the corn crop in Texas had failed, they lived on herbs and nuts which they gathered, eked out by an occasional largess of a bit of meat from their Indians. Supplies had indeed been sent by the Viceroy of Mexico, and the caravan set out accompanied by a new band of missionaries; but when the slow moving expedition reached Trinity River in December, 1717, they found it so swollen that they were unable to cross it. The carriers of the supplies made a cache at Rio de las Cargas, and the missionaries before returning dispatched letters by Indian hunters to inform the Fathers among the Asinais of what had befallen them, with information as to the place of the cache. It was not, however, till the following July that tidings of the proximity of the needed provisions reached the famishing missionaries.[2]

Soon after the Viceroy of New Spain ordered the formation of two Spanish settlements in Texas. One of these was to be on the Rio San Antonio: but as usually happened, there were interminable delays. The missionaries at last took the initiative. Father Anthony de San Buenaventura y Olivares transferred his Xarame Indian Mission of San Francisco Solano from the banks of the Rio Grande to the San Antonio on the 1st of May, 1718, by order of the Marquis of Valero, then Viceroy. He at once attracted the Payayas, who spoke the same language as the Xarames. Here this missionary remained for a year laboring to gain the neighboring Indians, and preparing the foundation of the future town. Unfortunately, while one day crossing a rude bridge, his horse

[1] Arricivita, "Cronica Serafica y Apostolica," p. 98; La Harpe, p. 139. The Vicar-General must have been the Abbé de la Vente.

[2] Morfi, "Memorias," p. 108.

broke through and threw the missionary, causing a fracture of his leg. Father Peter Muñoz hearing of his mishap, hastened from the Rio Grande to support his place and give him the necessary attention. When Father Olivares recovered he transferred his mission from its original site to one on the opposite side of the river which it maintained for years.[1]

The multiplicity of small tribes in Texas almost surpasses belief, and to this day ethnologists have made no attempt to classify them. At the San Antonio mission alone there were Indians of nearly thirty tribes. One of these tribes, the Hyerbipiamos, was so numerous that the mission of San Francisco Xavier was undertaken for them about 1720.

Though no formal settlement was begun, Spaniards began to gather around the presidios. Nacogdoches, even at this early day began its existence. Father Margil had been elected Guardian of the College of Zacatecas in 1716, but when he was notified of the appointment two years afterwards, he renounced the office,[2] and spent four years in his Indian work. To this day the people of Nacogdoches of Spanish origin point to a spring of pure water which their ancestors named the "Fountain of Father Margil," asserting that it was due to the prayers of that holy man in a season when all springs had failed.[3]

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[1] Espinosa, "Chronica Apostolica y Seraphica," pp. 449–450, 466. The mission of San Francisco Solano was founded in 1703; was transferred to San Ildephonso, then back to the Rio Grande at San Joseph, then to the San Antonio, taking that name, with the addition de Valero. The Register still preserved, begins Oct. 6, 1703, with a baptism by Father Estevez; the first baptism at San Antonio being by Father Michael Nuñez. On the 4th of Feb., 1720, there is a baptismal entry signed by the Ven. F. Anthony Margil.

[2] Arricivita, p. 99.

[3] Letters of Bishop of San Antonio, formerly parish priest of Nacogdoches, and of the present rector.

When a Governor was appointed for Texas, he did not advance beyond San Antonio, so that the way was not opened to the remote missions. The six Fathers seeing this, assembled and deputed Fathers Espinosa and Sanz to lay the whole matter before the Viceroy. They set out, but Espinosa meeting at San Antonio Don Martin de Alarcon on his way to Espiritu Santo Bay, let Father Sanz proceed, and returned to his mission with Alarcon; but that officer's visit gave little relief to the missionaries. Then again in 1718 Father Mathias was sent to Mexico to urge the necessity of active steps by the government, as the Indians were constantly obtaining arms from the French, who would soon be masters of the whole territory. Nothing was done, and war having been declared between France and Spain, the mission at Adayes was invaded by St. Denis from Natchitoches, who captured a soldier and a lay brother there, the Venerable Father Anthony Margil being absent at the time. The French officer plundered the mission, carrying off even the vestments and altar service.

The lay brother managed to escape, and, reaching Father Margil, announced that the French intended to break up all the other missions. Father Margil accordingly with his religious retired from the stations they conducted, carrying all they could and burying what was too heavy to transport. The missionaries of the College of Queretaro, on learning from Father Margil the dangerous condition of the frontier, adopted the same course. A statement of their reasons for abandoning their stations was drawn up and transmitted to the Viceroy.

The Indians were very reluctant to allow the Franciscans to depart from the mission of San Francisco, and to meet their wishes Fathers Margil and Espinosa returned to the mission of the Conception, allowing the rest of the party to proceed. After a time they followed, and with Fathers Jo-

seph Rodriguez, Joseph Albadesa, and Joseph Pita took up their abode in temporary huts near San Antonio.

It was not till March, 1721, that in consequence of further representations to the Court, the Marquis San Miguel de Adayo arrived to settle the country and restore the missions. Fathers Margil and Espinosa set out with him to renew their apostolic work. The mission of San Francisco was re-established on the 5th of August, with great solemnity, and Father Joseph Guerra was placed in charge. Three days after, that of La Purisima Conception was restored.

The Ven. Father Margil proceeded in person to rebuild the church of Guadalupe which had been destroyed. He erected the new shrine of Our Lady in a beautiful plain surrounded by tree-clad mountains, near the point where the Bañita flows into the Nana. Placing Father Joseph Rodriguez here as missionary, and Father Benedict Sanchez at San José de los Nazonis, he went on the 19th to rebuild the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. As no vestige of the former structure remained, he erected a new chapel on an eminence by the bank of a stream, and after dedicating it confided the mission to Father Joseph Abadejo.

On the 26th the expedition crossed the Sabine, and cutting their way with axes through the woods reached San Miguel de los Adayes. The Indians who had retired to a dense forest to escape the French and their Indian allies were recalled, and a fort or presidio was laid out. About a mile from it the mission of San Miguel de Cuellar was restored. The church in the fort at Adayes was dedicated to Our Lady del Pilar, the patroness of the expedition, on September 12th by the Rev. Dr. Joseph Cadallos, the chaplain, who offered the holy sacrifice, the Ven. Father Anthony Margil preaching. To enable the Indians to revive the mission, they were supplied with provisions till they could gather

in the next year's crop, and many cattle and sheep were left with them.

This was not done at the other missions, and no effectual means were adopted to keep open communication between the old Spanish settlements and the missions, so as to ensure them supplies from time to time, or necessary aid in case of invasion.

The missionaries, however, began their labors hopefully, many soon to sink under the hardships of their life, victims to the climate or to the savage Indians of the plains, especially the Apaches, who made constant raids. Brother Joseph Pita thinking that the presence of troops in the country had made travel safe, in the ardor of his zeal overlooked the danger, and undertook without an escort to reach the missions for which he had volunteered. At a place which has since borne the name of Carniceria, about sixty miles from San Xavier River, and on a site where a mission was subsequently erected, he fell into an ambuscade of Lipan Apaches. He might have escaped, but to deliver a soldier, he begged the Indians to turn on him, as they did, killing him and all his companions. He was the first Spanish religious who died by the hands of Indians in that province.[1]

As the Indians of Texas lived in scattered ranches or hamlets, often changing their place of abode, their agriculture, being without irrigation, was precarious. The great object of the missionaries was to form reductions where large bodies of Indians could be drawn together, and formed to persistent

[1] Morfi, "Memorias para la Historia de la provincia de Texas," iii., pp. 132–7. Espinosa, "Chronica Apostolica y Seraphica," pp 414–478. Among the earliest to die were Brother Dominic de Urioste, the lay brother Francis de San Diego, and in 1718, Fathers Peter de Mendoza, Manuel Castellanos, John Suarez, Lorenzo Garcia Botello, Father Joseph Gonzales, of San Antonio, and Brother Louis de Montesdoca, who perished in a prairie fire.

agriculture and mechanical arts as well as be educated in Christian doctrine, morals, and life. This required a certain degree of restraint, for which a military force was essential in order to keep them on the reservation, a system now maintained by our government.

The Spanish authorities in Mexico gave each mission a few soldiers, to protect the Fathers from sudden raids of hostile Indians, but would not establish the reduction or reservation system. To this the missionaries ascribed the comparatively slow progress of Christianity among the Indians. The missionaries of the College of Holy Cross at Queretaro finding their efforts not only not sustained but actually hampered by the military authorities, at last asked that three missions which they had for fourteen years maintained among the Asinais or Texas Indians should be transferred to the neighborhood of the San Antonio River, where there were numbers of unconverted Indians who could easily be reached, especially the Pacaos, Paalat, and Pitalaque. The Viceroy, Marquis of Casa Fuerte, approved the plan, and sites of the three missions were selected by Father Gabriel de Vergara on the banks of the San Antonio.[1]

When the College of Our Lady of Guadalupe at Queretaro removed its missions to the San Antonio, those which had been founded by the Venerable Father Anthony Margil were maintained. These were the mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe near the present city of Nacogdoches, the mission among the Ays, not far from the present town of San Augustin, and the mission of San Miguel de los Adayes. Near this was the Spanish frontier presidio or military post, which the missionaries attended as chaplains,[2] as they did also Nacogdoches when it was made a parish.

[1] Espinosa, "Chronica Apostolica y Seraphica," pp. 458–9.

[2] Ibid., pp. 459–460.

The venerable founder was not content with these missions; he selected Father Michael Nuñez to found another in honor of St. Joseph, and that priest proceeding to the San Antonio selected a populous rancheria, and established the mission of San José with great care and judgment. He erected a church and house, and began to instruct the Indians, inducing them to dig acequias or trenches to irrigate their fields. The site was subsequently transferred to the other side of the river, but the mission prospered so that it became the finest one belonging to the Zacatecas College.

When the Marquis of Valero in 1722 established a post at Bahia del Espiritu Santo, on the site of La Salle's fort, this same missionary college, by direction of the Venerable Father Margil, who had become Prefect of the missions de Propaganda Fide, sent Father Augustine Patron to rear a chapel and convent there for the service of the Spaniards and Indians. This mission of Guadalupe remained there till 1727, when it was transferred to the Rio Guadalupe,[1] but not before two Fathers, Diego Zapata and Ignatius Bahena, had died in their apostolical labors victims to the malarious district.

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[1] Espinosa, "Chronica Apostolica y Seraphica," p. 467; Arricivita, "Cronica Serafica y Apostolica," ii., p. 102; Morfi, "Memorias." The Venerable Father Margil re-elected Guardian of the College of Guadalupe at Zacatecas completed his term, and then resumed his missions in the Spanish cities and towns of Mexico. There he continued till he was stricken down by illness. He was conveyed to Mexico, and reaching the great Convent, insisted on entering the church to adore our Lord in the Sacrament of his Love. Then he entered his cell, and making a general confession of his innocent life with great compunction, he received Holy Communion and Extreme Unction, and expired, August 6, 1726. The fame of his virtues and miracles led the City of Mexico to petition for his canonization. The cause was introduced, and in 1778 his remains were enshrined by the Archbishop of Mexico (Arricivita, ii., p. 157). His virtues were declared heroic by Pope Gregory XVI., in 1836; and on proof of two miracles he may be solemnly beatified.

Bahia became second only to San Antonio in importance, having a secular parish priest; Nacogdoches, though a parish, remaining under the care of the Franciscan Fathers.[1]

While the Franciscans were endeavoring to convert the Indian tribes of Texas, thwarted too often by the Spanish officials, who were a greater obstacle than the heathenism and inconstancy of the Indians or the raids of enemies like the Apaches, little was done to colonize the territory, important as it was to the Spanish frontier. On the 14th of February, 1729, the King of Spain ordered four hundred families to be transferred from the Canary Islands to San Antonio. Fourteen families arrived the next year, and the city of San Fernando was founded.[2] Near it was the presidio or garrison of San Antonio, which in time gave its name to the city also. Its ecclesiastical records date almost to its origin, though unfortunately some pages are lacking in the venerable parish register. A chapel was at once raised as a place of worship till a proper parish church could be built. The records of the church now date back to August 31, 1731, when Bach-

FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF REV. JOSEPH DE LA GARZA.

elor Joseph de la Garza was parish priest, and by his leave Father Ignatius Augustine Cyprian baptized a child of Spanish parentage.

The next year the church itself must have been opened, for for the first time a baptism is recorded as performed within its walls on the 17th of July, 1732.

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[1] Arispe, "Memoria," Cadiz, 1812, pp. 12–3.

[2] Altamiro, "Parecer" in Yoakum, app. Morfi, "Memoria," p. 178.

But the life of the city of San Fernando was feeble. The population fell away instead of gaining. There were twenty-two baptisms in 1733; fifteen the next year; then twelve; and for 1736 only eleven are recorded. Evidently some of the original settlers moved away, harassed, it is said, by the Apaches, and none came to replace them. The last entry of the first known parish priest of the first city of Texas is dated June 7, 1736; and then there is a gap of more than seven years. The few Spaniards who remained were probably attended from the neighboring missions.

The new town was strengthened in 1731 by the removal to its vicinity by order of the Viceroy of the Asinais missions of San Francisco, Purisima Concepcion, and San José, the last often called San Juan Capistrano. Yet so little care had been taken for the subsistence of the Indians that the missionaries maintained the transferred Indians only by provisions they solicited in Coahuila.

The mission of San Antonio was founded on the San Pedro, but was subsequently transferred to the Alamo, and its name has prevailed over that of the city subsequently founded.

Under the violent and oppressive rule of Governor Franqui the missions suffered. Yet in 1734 the three missions on the Rio Grande and four on the San Antonio reported 2,170 baptisms. They took new life again about 1740, when many of the Tacanes were gained to the missions at San Antonio.[1]

In 1744 another effort was made to revive the city of the holy king Saint Ferdinand. By this time fifty families of Islanders, as the emigrants from the Canaries were called,

[1] Espinosa, "Chronica Apostolica," p. 466. The king allowed the parish priest $400 a year; the tithes were applied to the church.

The mission of La Purisima Concepcion was founded March 5, 1731. Father Vergara's first marriage entry is July 9, 1733.

and some Tlascalan Indians had arrived, and we find Bachelor John Francis de Espronzeda beginning the year as parish priest (cura vicario) and ecclesiastical judge of the city of San Fernando and the garrison of San Antonio. His baptisms in that year were twenty-two.

On the 3d of December, 1746, Bachelor Francis Manuel Polanco makes an entry that he began on that day "to administer the holy sacraments in this Royal Garrison," and with occasional aid from neighboring Franciscan friars, Bartholomew and Diego Martin Garcia, he continued till August 5, 1753. Then Rev. Ignatius Martinez seems to have come in as acting parish priest.

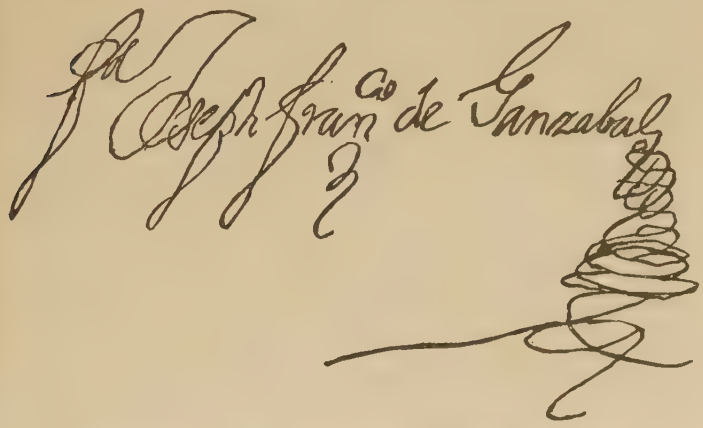
On the 13th of November, 1754, Bachelor John Ignatius de Cardenas, Pinilla y Ramos, became parish priest "in commendam," and replaced for a time by the Licentiate Manuel de Caro y Seixas, continued till the visitation of Bishop Tejada.

An Edict of Rt. Rev. John Gomez de Parada, Bishop of Guadalajara, issued on the 24th of March, 1746, fixed the holidays of obligation as follows: All the Sundays of the year, Easter Sunday and Monday, Whitsunday, Ascension, Corpus Christi; Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. James, Assumption, Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, All Saints, Conception, Christmas, and St. Stephen.[1]

Meanwhile Father Maria Ano Francis de los Dolores had penetrated to a valley between the San Xavier and Animas, where he found a large town made up of Bidays and other tribes, to whom he announced the Gospel. They heard it willingly, and sent subsequently to San Antonio to solicit missionaries. The authorities spent a year in discussing the

[1] Register of the Church of St. Fernando, San Antonio.

question of the new foundation; but meanwhile Father Maria Ano began his labors. At last, on the 1st of February, 1747, the Viceroy Revillagigedo ordered the establishment of the missions of San Francisco Xavier de Orcasitas, Nuestra Señora de Candelaria, and San Ildefonso. When the legal authorization came, the President of the Mission, Father Benedict Fernandez de Santa Ana, went up and founded the mission of San Ildefonso, and laid plans for that of Candelaria, which was soon begun. These missions prospered for a



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER GANZABAL.

time and gave great hopes; but the arbitrary and cruel conduct of the officer stationed at the neighboring presidio or military post drove the Indians from the missions. That of San Ildefonso was completely deserted by the Cocos in 1749.

Father Benedict Fernandez de Santa Ana followed the tribe and induced them to settle at Candelaria. Father Mariano Anda and Joseph Pinella continued their labors at San Xavier amid constant oppression, but they with Father Manuel Mariano were at last compelled to leave, Father Parrilla remaining alone at that mission. In 1752 Father Joseph

Francis Ganzabal, missionary of San Ildefonso, went on Ascension Day, May 11, to pass the festival with his fellow religious at Candelaria. At nightfall three Fathers were in the little room at the mission and a Spaniard standing at the door, when some Cocos fired and killed the Spaniard, who fell at the feet of one of the Fathers. The missionary hastened to aid him, but when Father Ganzabal called out to learn who they were, he received an arrow through his heart. The third religious being unseen, escaped.

From that time the missions in the valley of the San Xavier declined, the Indians scattered, and finally the government ordered the military post and the missions to be transferred to San Saba.[1]

The Franciscans, besides gaining some of the coast Indians among whom the Rosario mission was established, had made strenuous efforts to gain Apaches. Among the earnest laborers in this field was Father Cajetan Aponte y Lis.[2] At last some prospect of the conversion of the tribe appeared. The Viceroy agreed to maintain a mission at San Saba for three years. It was to be established by Father Alonso Giraldo de Terreros of the College of Queretaro with missionaries from that college and that of San Fernando of Mexico. In December, 1756, Father Terreros with Fathers Joseph Santiesteban and Michael Molina were joined by Fathers Joachim Baños and Diego Ximenez from Queretaro and reached San Antonio.

The mission of San Saba was founded in March, and on the 17th of April, 1757, that of San Luis de Amarillas was established; but the Apaches would not settle at the mission,

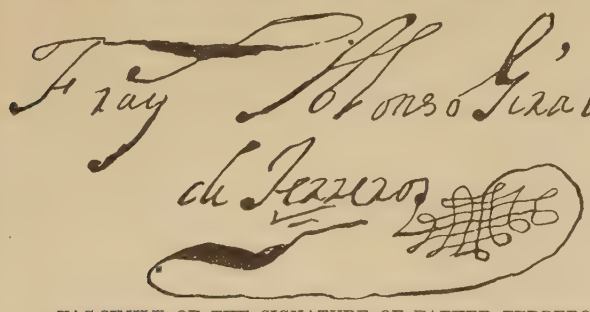
[1] Arricivita, "Cronica Serafica," ii., p. 334; Morfi, "Memorias."

[2] Arricivita, "Cronica Serafica," p. 368; Morfi, "Memorias." Father Cajetan Aponte y Lis, a native of Pontevedra, came to America in 1730, was ten years in the Texan mission, and died May 25, 1791.

and in July Father Terreros wrote very despondingly, Father Benedict Varela, sent to the Apaches, having failed in his mission, and subsequent negotiations proving ineffectual.

The friendly intercourse with the Apaches seems to have aroused hostile feelings in the Texan tribes, who regarded them as their natural enemies. Father Silva was killed near the Rio Grande by a party of Indians who were recognized as belonging to tribes under the care of missionaries.[1]

On the 16th of March, 1758, Father Alonso Terreros had offered the holy sacrifice at daybreak, and Father Santiesteban had just put on his vestments, when their ears were saluted by the yells of a large Indian force, with occasional gunshots.



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER TERREROS.

When the Indians reached the mission many were recognized as Texas and Bidais. They professed friendship, and asked

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[1] In 1759 there was received in Texas and promulgated through the parishes and missions the edict of Rt. Rev. Friar Francis De San Buenaventura Martinez de Tejada Diez de Velasco, Bishop of Guadalajara, the new Kingdom of Galicia, and Leon, the Provinces of Nayarit, California, Coahuila, and Texas, making a holiday of obligation of December 12th, the feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Pope Benedict XIV. at the petition of the Archbishop of Mexico and Bishop of Michoacan had made the Blessed Virgin under that title Patroness of all the provinces of Mexico. Register of Church of San Fernando, San Antonio, Dec. 12, 1759.

a letter to the commandant of the garrison a few miles off. This Father Terreros gave, but they insisted on his accompanying them. He mounted a horse, but had ridden only a few feet from the gate when he was shot, and with a groan fell dead from his horse. Then the Indians made a general attack, killing the soldiers stationed at the mission. The other Fathers at once sought refuge. Father Santiesteban fled to the store-room, but that was the first place the assailants visited. He perished, undoubtedly, under the blows of their weapons, as they carried off his habit, and his dying cries were heard. Father Michael Molina with the mission attendants took refuge in the room which Father Terreros had occupied, and here the Spaniards held out, escaping with their lives, although Father Molina and some others were severely wounded. At night with the room on fire they escaped through the blazing church, and each for himself made their way to the presidio.[1]

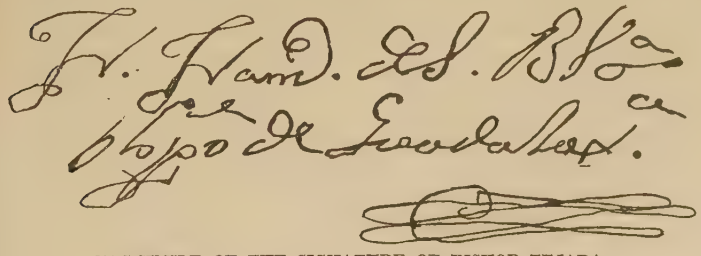
This was a great blow to the projected Apache mission, but it did not defeat it. The Commissary-General, lest the Indians at San Saba should disperse, sent Father Francis Aparicio and Father Peter Parras, with Fathers Juniper Serra and Francis Palou to continue the work. But as the tribe objected to San Saba, a new site was selected in the valley of San José, and there on the 9th of January, 1761, Father Joachim Baños and Diego Ximenes founded the mission of San Lorenzo, and soon after that of Candelaria; but they were planned and arranged by the civil authorities with little regard to the views or system of the missionaries. The mis-

[1] Arricivita, "Cronica Serafica," ii., pp. 375–8; Morfi, "Memorias." Father Morfi says that F. Santiesteban's headless body was found by F. Molina in the church, and that the bodies of the two missionaries were interred together in the cemetery. Father Arricivita writing a few years later says the body of Santiesteban was never found, so that some thought he was carried off alive.

sions were maintained, however, for eight years till the invasion of the Comanches broke them up.[1]

In these Texan missions the Franciscans and the Spanish authorities had always entertained different views. The Franciscans wished the Indians placed on reservations, and kept by military force from wandering off. The officials wished the missionaries to instruct the Indians when and where they could. The latter plan kept the missionaries completely in the hands of the officials for their maintenance and the supplies needed by the mission, and from official corruption missionaries often suffered greatly.

All these missions enjoyed in 1759 the presence of a Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Francis de San Buenaventura Tejada



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF BISHOP TEJADA.

of Guadalajara in his visitation of his diocese, having traversed the whole of Texas. The report of his official examination would give a most authentic picture of the state of religion at that time, but unfortunately it is not accessible.

On the 19th of November, 1759, Bishop Francis de San Buenaventura Tejada made his visitation of the Church of San Fernando in the city now known as San Antonio. He was

[1] "Informe of F. Ximenez," Arricivita, p. 386. "Relacion que hizó el R. P. Predicador Fr. Manuel Molina sobre las muertes de los PP. Fray Alonso Giraldo de Terreros y Fr. José de Santiesteban en San Saba. Mexico, Abril de 1758."

duly received according to the prescribed forms by the parish priest, Bachelor Cardenas. All was done in due form. His secretary, Dr. Mathias Joseph de Arteaga, while he sat in the sanctuary, read the edict for the general visitation of the diocese, and against public sins. Then the good bishop, in a sermon explained the object of the visitation, and the nature and graces of the sacrament of confirmation, and the necessity of proper preparation for it.

The visitation of the church showed a condition of great neglect. There was no tabernacle for the preservation of the Blessed Sacrament; the baptistery lacked door and window, as well a proper vessel for pouring the holy water, and he ordered one to be obtained of silver; it also lacked an ambry with lock and key for the holy oils. He directed also that a painting of Saint John Baptizing our Lord in the Jordan to be placed there. Then the Bishop in a black cope made a commemoration of the faithful departed.

The church had but one altar, with a picture of Saint Ferdinand, but no other adornment. The sacristy showed a lack of vestments, of proper church plate, procession cross, candlesticks, missal, censer and boat, in fact of everything. There was not even a ritual or a repository for Holy Thursday.

This destitution in a church with five hundred and eighty-two parishioners pained the good Bishop deeply.

The faculties of the incumbent were regular, but the Bishop continued them merely till the next conference of the clergy, when he was to appear personally, evidently regarding him as one ignorant or careless of his duties. The Rev. Mr. Cardenas thereupon resigned the parish, and the Bishop appointed Bachelor Casimir Lopez de Lara, who produced his faculties, including power to preach in Spanish and Mexican.

Don Toribio de Urrutia then solicited and obtained the privilege of erecting an altar of the Immaculate Conception in one of the transepts with the privilege of making it a burial-place for his family on payment of four dollars at each interment, and making an offering of wax, bread, and wine on All Souls' Day.

The Bishop also forbade the people of the city to receive the sacraments at the churches of the Indian missions, gave orders for the maintenance of a proper school and schoolmaster, and of catechetical instructions to the young on Sundays and holidays by the parish priest.

Such was the visitation of a Catholic Bishop in Texas in 1759. He then examined the candidates for confirmation, and conferred that sacrament on 644, devoting the 19th of November and the ensuing days to the 25th to this duty. The long list of names preserved includes several Indians, some of them Apaches.[1]

The Bishop made the visitation of the missions of San Antonio de Valero and La Purisima Concepcion on the 21st of November, and entered on the Register of each his approval of the management by the Franciscan Fathers in charge, Joseph Lopez and Francis Aparicio.[2]

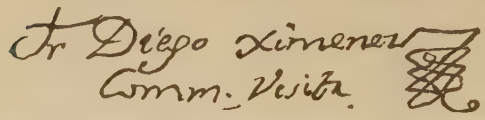
The Spanish population of Texas at this time consisted of about 3,000 souls, at San Antonio, the presidios and ranches. Besides the parish at San Antonio with its priest, there were secular priests also at Sacramento and Nacogdoches, and generally a chaplain for the troops. There was also a priest at

[1] "Auto General de Visita," signed by Bp. Tejada in the Register. On March 13, 1763, the Rev. Mr. Casimir Lopez de Lara transferred the Registers, etc., to Bach. Joseph Ildephonsus de la Peña.

[2] The Indian missions were visited not only by the Bishop, but by Visitors of the Franciscan order. There were such in Texas in June, 1745, June, 1756, April, 1759. Registers of the missions of San Antonio Valero and La Purisima Concepcion.

Bahia. Adayes was a place of some importance with forty houses, and a church attended by the Franciscan Father attached to the Indian mission. It was maintained as a frontier post and town, but declined after Spain acquired Louisiana, and was suppressed in 1772.[1]

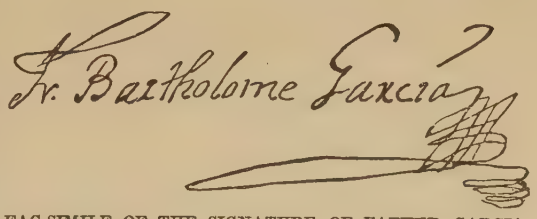
In January, 1761, Fathers Diego Ximenez and Joachim Baños renewed the almost hopeless attempt to convert the Apaches. On the banks of the Rio San José they founded the mission of San Lorenzo, which they maintained for eight years, baptizing in danger of death eighty persons as the result of all their toil. It was found almost impossible to induce these Lipan Apaches to remain at the mission, and settle down to cultivate the soil or learn trades. The missionaries indeed gained their good-will, so that San Lorenzo was regarded as their reserve by about three thousand, four hundred remaining actually at the mission with some degree of permanence. But from time to time they would insist on going to the bison plains, or forming war parties against the Comanches. In 1763 Father Diego Ximenez, President of the Texas missions, writing from San Lorenzo, reported that they were beginning to listen to the instructions, brought their children to be baptized, notified



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER DIEGO XIMENEZ.

[1] Morfi, "Memoria para la Historia de Texas": Onys, "Memoria sobre las Negociaciones," Mexico, 1826, p. 52. The presidio of Orquisaco near Dolores was also suppressed. As some guide to the work of the Texas missions, the numbers of baptisms to 1761 are given. San Antonio, 1,772; Purisima Concepcion, 792; San José, 1,054; San Juan Capistrano, 847; San Francisco de la Espada, 815; Rosario, 200; Espiritu Santo, 623.

the missionary when any adults were sick, and on setting off to hunt, brought their wives and children to the missionaries for protection.[1]



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF FATHER GARCIA.

Father Bartholomew Garcia and Joseph Guadalupe Prado were veteran missionaries in Texas about this time. The former published a manual to aid his fellow-missionaries of the college of Queretaro in administering the sacraments to the Indians on the San Antonio and Rio Grande. It gives some idea of the number of tribes which even then were attended by the missionaries.[2]

The mission of San José was the centre of the Texas missions and residence of the President or Superior, and in time a fine church was erected here, and nearly as elegant structures at San Francisco de la Espada and La Purisima Concepcion.

Soon after the year 1763 the college of Queretaro withdrew from Texas, leaving that field to the colleges of Zacatecas and Guadalajara.[3]

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[1] Letter of F. Ximenez, San Lorenzo, January 24, 1763, in Arricivita, "Cronica Serafica y Apostolica," pp. 386–9; also 390–3. The mission and presidio were suppressed in 1767.

[2] He names the Pajalates, Orejones, Pacaos, Pacoas, Telijayas, Alasapas, Pausanes, Pacuaches, Pampôpas, Tâcames, Chayopines, Venados, Pamâques, Pihuiques, Borrados, Sanipoas, and Manos de Perro. Garcia, "Manual para administrar los Santos Sacramentos," etc., 1760. There is a copy in Harvard College. See Pilling, p. 281.

[3] Arricivita, p. 437.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE CHURCH IN NEW MEXICO, 1692–1763.

For a period in the latter part of the seventeenth century all evidence of Catholicity had been swept from the soil of New Mexico, and the expeditions undertaken by Spain to recover that province, had been merely incursions. To such an extent, however, had the revolted tribes by civil war, and the hostility of the Apaches, been reduced in numbers and spirit that every one of the pueblo nations submitted at last without striking a blow to Vargas and a handful of Spaniards.

Diego de Vargas Zapatá Luxan Ponce de Leon was appointed Governor of New Mexico in 1692, and prepared to take possession of the province. The whole force he had been able to gather amounted to fifty-four Spaniards and one hundred friendly Indians. On the 16th of August the van left El Paso, and Vargas after awaiting in vain for a detachment of fifty men promised from Parral joined his van and entered New Mexico, his little force being attended as chaplains by Father Francis Corvera, President of the Mission, Fathers Michael Muñiz and Christopher Alphonsus Barroso. Establishing a camp for his supplies, at a ruined estate, where he left fourteen Spaniards and fifty Indians, he pushed on through an utterly deserted country by way of the ruined towns of Cochiti and Santo Domingo to Santa Fé. Camping at night by a ruined chapel, the little force the next morning (Sept. 13th) heard mass, and received absolution before moving upon the city. There the Tanos of

Galisteo had planted a new town. Vargas cut off the water supply, and prepared to besiege Santa Fé. Troops of Indians appeared on the hills to relieve the town, but Vargas drove these off, and before night the city surrendered.

On the 14th, the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Vargas with Father Corvera and six soldiers entered. The Indians, who had been told that the main object of the expedition was to restore them to the Catholic faith, had already erected a large cross in the plaza. There Vargas announced that King Charles II. had sent him to pardon the New Mexico Indians for their apostasy, the sacrilegious murder of the missionaries, the profanation of the churches and sacred things, and the massacre of the Spaniards, if they would return to the bosom of holy Mother Church, which like a fond mother implored them to return, and then renew their allegiance to the Spanish crown.

To this the Tanos agreed, the standard of Spain was flung to the breeze, amid the vivas of the assembly, and while all knelt around the cross Father Corvera intoned the Te Deum. The next day mass was solemnly offered in the plaza, the President of the mission made the Indians a touching exhortation, and absolved them from their apostasy. Then the children born during the revolt were brought to the missionaries and baptized, to the number of 969. Soon after this the detachment from Parral arrived, and Luis Tupatu, who upon the death of Popé and Catiti had been recognized as chief by one portion of the insurgents, came in and submitted. He was ready to aid in reducing to the Spanish authority the Pecos, Queres, Taos, and Jemes, who had refused to acknowledge him. Before setting out to the other towns Vargas forwarded to Mexico an account of his success. The tidings, utterly unexpected, filled that capital with the utmost joy. The Count of Galve, Viceroy of New

Spain, proceeded with all the high officials to the Cathedral to return thanks to God and to the Blessed Virgin for this peaceful recovery of the province.

Meanwhile Vargas with Fathers Corvera and Barroso advanced to Pecos, where some reluctance was shown by that tribe, but they finally submitted. They were then absolved, and 248 children baptized. In the tribes which acknowledged Tupatu the reception of Vargas was more cordial. Near the Cañada of Cochiti were the people of San Marco, Cochiti, and San Felipe gathered in one town; here 103 children were baptized; the remnant of the people of the pueblos of Cia and Santa Ana also lived together in one town; there and at Santo Domingo, the people after being received again into the Church brought 123 children to be baptized.

On a high mesa a band of Queres, Jemes, and Apaches at first defied the Spaniards, but they too finally yielded, were absolved, and brought to the sacred font 117 children.

In this tour through the province, completed by the close of October, Vargas without firing a shot had restored the Spanish authority and Christianity. Forty-three Spaniards, chiefly women and their children born in captivity, were rescued, with some half-breeds.

Early in November he reached Acoma, a town never friendly to the Spaniards. In spite of a defiant attitude, it soon yielded, when the Governor with two Friars and only fifteen men fearlessly clambered to the pueblo. The new Zuñi pueblo on the Galisteo cliff was next gained, the people absolved and 294 children christened as 87 had been at Acoma. At Zuñi the first and only sign of respect for religion was found. Here Vargas was taken to a room with a very diminutive door. Within on a table two tallow candles were burning on a kind of altar covered with pieces of

vestments. Beneath them were two crucifixes, an oil painting of the Crucifixion, and one of Saint John the Baptist, a monstrance with its luna, four silver chalices, and three patens, a missal and other books with two bells. Some of the Zuñis who had clung to the faith amid the general apostasy had secured these hallowed objects, and kept them with all due honor in absolute secrecy, waiting till religion reasserted her authority. With deep emotion the missionaries received these relics of their martyred brethren. Vargas then proceeded to the Moqui towns, which all submitted except Oraybi, a town he was induced not to visit on account of its pretended distance. The baptisms were 273.

Before the close of December, Vargas re-entered El Paso, having restored the Spanish influence in the province, by a singular display of prudence, judgment, and courage.[1]

With all this apparent success the Governor of New Mexico felt that the moral influence acquired would soon be lost unless the province was actually reoccupied. The Viceroy professed great earnestness in the matter, but the year 1693 was rapidly passing, and no effectual steps were taken. Vargas then collected all the old inhabitants of New Mexico, and other settlers whom he could influence, and set out from El Paso on the 13th of October, with seventy families, and many single persons, in all 800 souls. They were accompanied by Father Salvador of San Antonio as Custos, who went to restore the missions with Fathers John de Zavaleta, Francis Casañas de Jesus Maria, John de Alpuente, John Muñoz de Castro, John Daza, Joseph Diez, Anthony Car-

[1] Letters of Vargas to the Viceroy, Oct. 16, 1692. Narrative of Expedition, "Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," III., i., pp. 129–137; Siguenza y Gongora, "Mercurio Volante con las Noticias de la Recuperacion de las provincias del Nuevo Mexico," 1693–4. Letter of F. Silvestre Velez de Escalante to F. Morfi, Santa Fé, Apl. 2, 1778.

bonel, Francis Corvera, Jerome Prieto, John Anthony del Corral, Anthony Vahomonde, Anthony de Obregon, Dominic of Jesus Mary, Bonaventure de Contreras, Joseph Narvaez Balverde, and Diego Zeinos. Escorted by soldiers from El Paso and other posts, Vargas advanced to the vicinity of Socorro, where leaving his heavier baggage and slower-moving settlers he pushed on. The Queres at San Felipe, Santa Ana, and Cia, renewed their submission to him, but other tribes at once began to plot against the Spaniards, though they professed submission and a desire for missionaries. On the 16th of December, Vargas entered Santa Fé, and bearing the banner which Oñate bore when he made the first conquest, he followed the religious, who in procession moved to the cross chanting psalms. There the Te Deum and the Litany of Loreto were sung with the thrice repeated "Praised forever be the most Holy Sacrament of the Altar." Vargas then officially reinstated the Custos in possession of the missions of New Mexico.

As the city and government buildings were still occupied by the Tanos, Vargas encamped on the side of Mount Tezuque. He had been warned of a conspiracy of tribes to attack him on the way, or in Santa Fé. His movements hitherto had disconcerted their plans. The parish church in Santa Fé had disappeared, the walls of that of San Miguel de los Tlascaltecas were still standing, and the church was capable of restoration. After examining it with Anthony Bolsas, chief of the Tanos in Santa Fé, Vargas ordered the Indians to proceed to repair and restore it, to serve as the church for white and Indian till spring, promising that his people should join in the work. Bolsas evaded the order under the pretext that the snows were too heavy in the mountains to cut timbers for roofing the church, but he offered for use as a chapel one of the Indian estufas erected and used for their idola-

trous rites. This the missionaries declined, believing, and not without some ground, that the Indians made the offer only in hope of secretly carrying on their heathen worship in the estufa while pretending to take part in the Catholic service.[1]

Several of the pueblos began to ask for resident missionaries, and Vargas seeing that the towns readily furnished Indian corn for his use, was inclined to accede to their request, and Fathers were actually named for Santa Fé, Tezuque, Nambe, San Ildefonso, San Juan, San Lazaro, Picuries, Taos, Jemes, Cia, Pecos, and Cochiti. The missionaries, however, who had all been mingling with the Indians, and endeavoring to win their confidence, had learned that the object of the Indians was to get the missionaries into their power so as to massacre them when they rose on the Spaniards. Yé, governor of Pecos, whose timely warning had saved many in 1680, had now given them distinct information of the plot. Vargas had promised Bishop Montenegro not to expose the lives of the missionaries rashly, and on the 18th of December, the Franciscan Fathers in a formal act laid the matter before him representing the danger of attempting missions at once.[2] Vargas replied, accusing them of "feigned obedience and envy," and tauntingly offered to

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[1] This secret idolatry, called by Spanish writers Nagualism, was conducted with the utmost cunning. The idols or fetishes of the medicine-men were concealed under the altars, in the altar-lamps, behind pictures and in ornamental work of the churches, and the Indians were really worshipping these, while apparently hearing mass. The adherents of the old idolatry formed a secret society, and some by great professions of piety managed to gain the confidence of missionaries, and so aid in maintaining the old heathen ideas. The Ven. Anthony Margil apparently by supernatural light often detected the presence of these idols, and unmasked the hypocrites.

[2] Representation of the missionaries.

escort them in safety to the central mission stations assigned to each.[1]

Meanwhile the Tanos showed no disposition to return to their old pueblo at Galisteo, and the settlers in the Spanish camp were suffering severely, many children dying. On the 28th the Tanos openly declared war, closed the gate of the town, defying the Spaniards from the walls, shouting out that the Devil was more powerful than God and Mary. "All our friends are coming, and we will kill all the Spaniards and not let one escape. The Fathers shall be our servants for a time. We will make them carry wood, and bring it down from the mountain; and when they have served us we will kill them all, as we did when we drove the Spaniards out before."

Vargas saw that his confidence had been overweening and that prompt action was required. He prepared to storm the town. Father Zeinos said mass and exhorted the troops. Then bearing aloft the banner of Our Lady of Refuge, and chanting the Praise of the Blessed Sacrament, the Spanish soldiers rushed to the assault. Under a shower of stones and arrows they carried a tower by scaling it, and set fire to the great door of the town. An entrance to some houses was gained, loopholes were made in the walls, and a fire kept up on the Indians. Auxiliaries of the besieged approaching the town were twice driven off. By this time the Tanos were completely hemmed in, so that at daybreak they gave up the struggle, and began to excuse their conduct; but they had shown their hatred of religion when they demolished the cross and beat to a shapeless mass a statue of Our Lady. Vargas felt at last that he must strike terror into the Indians or prepare for constant outbreaks. Bolsa and the men taken in

[1] "Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," III., i., pp. 142–3.

arms were condemned to be shot, and after Father Alpuente had prepared them for death, the sentence was executed. The rest of the Tanos were distributed as slaves among the settlers, each captive being allowed to select his own master. Regulations required that none should be sold or taken out of the city, or be ill-treated, and all were to be sent daily to the missionaries for instruction. Santa Fé was once more in full possession of the Spaniards, and then apparently the Church of San Miguel was restored, to be rebuilt in the last century and remain to our day.

The severity of Vargas did not crush the spirit of insurrection. The early part of 1694 was taken up in operations against the Indians, in which he was not always successful. But he was cheered by the intelligence that Father Francis Farfan was at El Paso with seventy-six families of settlers. As he durst not detach any portion of his force, he was unable to furnish them an escort, but he sent them provisions and they reached Santa Fé in June. The military operations continued during the summer, but amid them he captured two Jemes, who were pardoned on their offer to show where Father John of Jesus was buried and the church plate hidden. With the banner of Our Lady of Refuge, and his principal officers, Vargas proceeded to the spot to which they guided him. Then, after chanting the Salva Regina, he ordered the ground to be opened. The bones of a person of small stature were found, an arrow fixed in the spine, the skull recognized by some present as resembling the missionary. Deeming them sufficiently identified, Fathers Alpuente, Obregon, and Carbonel collected the precious remains of their mortified and apostolical predecessor, and carried them reverently to Santa Fé, where they were placed in a box of cedar, covered with damask and fine linen, and on the 11th of August, after a solemn service in presence of all

the people, they were deposited on the gospel side of the chapel which served temporarily as the parish church.[1]

The Jemes at this time asked peace, and Vargas agreed on condition that they returned to their old pueblo, where they were to erect a chapel and house for the missionary assigned to them, Father Francis Casañas. That holy missionary, whom we have seen already laboring in the unfruitful soil of Texas, appealed to Vargas for the release of the Jemes held by him as prisoners, and these, after the tribe had shown its good-will by co-operation in the field, were released by the Governor.

Then the Tehuas and Tanos who had restored their old pueblos, solicited missionaries. On the 5th of October, 1694, Father John Muñoz de Castro, the vice-custos, set out to instal the missionaries in their towns. Father Francis Corvera remained at San Ildefonso, from which he was to attend Jacona, Father Jerome Prieto in charge of Santa Clara, Father Anthony Obregon to reside in San Cristobal and take charge of San Lorenzo. No chapel or house had been as yet erected in any of the towns, and the missionaries took up their abode in hastily constructed huts. In each pueblo Vargas explained to the people the veneration and obedience due the missionaries, and urged the Indians to erect churches and houses for them at once. He undoubtedly believed the presence of the Franciscan Fathers the best means of making the submission of the Indians sincere and lasting. The missionaries were less sanguine; yet they remained cheerfully to exercise the ministry, though conscious that the Indians had not laid aside their hostile feelings, and regarded them with no friendly eye.

Shortly after Father Diego Zeinos was installed in the

[1] "Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," III., i., pp. 143–161.

mission of Our Lady of Portiuncula at Pecos, where the people had already built him a house, and were roofing a temporary chapel. Father Anthony Carbonel was placed at San Felipe and Father John Alpuente at Cia. The Queres of Santo Domingo submitted, and were absolved by their missionary, Father Francis of Jesus, for whom they had prepared a convenient residence.

Having thus restored the missionaries to the most important points in the territory, Father Salvador proceeded to El Paso, where he resigned his office and was succeeded as custos of the mission by Father Francis Vargas, who had arrived with four other priests. The work of re-establishing the missions went on, the Indians returning with apparent readiness to the old Catholic practices. Fathers John Muñoz de Castro and Anthony Moreno remained in Santa Fé; Father Joseph Diaz, who had completely gained the good-will of the people of Tezuque by his devoted affection, remained with the Indians of that pueblo; Father Joseph Garcia Marin began his labors at Santa Clara; Father Carbonel, at the voice of his superior, left San Felipe for Cochiti, where the Indians had reared a chapel and house, more fortunate than Father Michael Tirso, who found at Santo Domingo no chapel or house, and a miserable hut as his only refuge.

In 1695 a new city styled Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz was founded at La Cañada with sixty families from Mexico, and Father Anthony Moreno became the first rector. During the same year Father Anthony Azevedo was stationed at Nambe, and missionaries at last restored Catholic service at Picuries and Taos.

All seemed so quiet that Spaniards scattered unsuspectingly through the country; but the missionaries being in the very heart of the pueblos, discerned and reported that a new revolt was brewing. Vargas charged them with pusil-

lanimity, and the Franciscans silently submitted. Yet in March, 1696, Father Vargas, the custos, represented to the Governor the evident danger of the missionaries, who were alone and unprotected, and who would certainly be the first victims, as the Governor could not in case of outbreak send a force to rescue them all. He asked a small body of soldiers at each mission, but the Governor professed his inability to send them. When further representations of danger were made to him, Vargas said that any missionary who felt he was in danger might come to Santa Fé, if he chose. A few did so, but as Vargas in writing to the Governor and Bishop accused them of cowardice, and said that their withdrawal and removal of vestments and church plate would excite suspicion and cause the very danger they feared, the missionaries returned to their posts, offering their lives a sacrifice to God.

The result was not long delayed. On the 4th of June, 1696, the Picuries, Taos, Tehuas, Tanos, Queres, and Jemes rose in rebellion. Their first act was to profane the churches and sacred vessels and objects, their next to butcher the missionaries. At San Cristobal the Tanos killed Father Joseph de Arbizu and Father Anthony Carbonel, missionaries of Taos. Father Francis Corvera and Father Anthony Moreno, missionaries at Nambe, were shut up in a cell in San Ildefonso by the Tehuas, who closed every window and opening, then set fire to the convent and church, leaving the religious to die, suffocated by the heat and smoke. The holy Father Casañas was lured out of Jemes, under the pretext that a dying man wished a priest to hear his confession. Then the war-chief of the pueblo and the interpreter killed him with their macanas or clubs, the holy missionary repeating the names of Jesus and Mary till he expired.

Besides the missionaries, isolated Spaniards were everywhere cut down.

Vargas at last saw that the conspiracy had long been formed, and embraced all but four or five pueblos. Once more he took the field, and a long war was maintained by him and his successor Cubero. During this period all the peaceful efforts of the missionaries were paralyzed.[1]

After the reduction of the revolted pueblos, the missions were restored, and for some years the Franciscans continued their labors undisturbed, the increasing number of Spanish settlers giving them an overpowering strength which held the Indians in check.

In 1700 Father John de Garaicoechea won the Zuñis, and induced them to leave the rocky fortress and return to their old pueblo in the fertile plain, and the same year Father Anthony Miranda, a religious of singular virtue and zeal, obtained similar success at Acoma, and established a chapel at Laguna, which he visited regularly. To protect these apostolic men the Governor sent a small detachment of soldiers, but as frequently happened these men were more a detriment than a benefit to the missions, creating ill-will and setting an example of vice. Father John in vain solicited their removal, but on Sunday, March 4, 1703, while he was chanting the versicle in praise of the Blessed Sacrament after mass, the Indians killed one Spaniard in the choir, and two more at the door of the church in Zuñi. The interpreter and some others saved the missionary, and an Indian woman hurried him to her house, where she concealed him for three days in a chest. When all had become quiet in the pueblo he reappeared, and was received with joy by his flock, the great part of which were ignorant of the plot which was the work of seven men. Governor Cubero sent troops to Zuñi, who conveyed Father Garaicoechea most unwillingly

[1] "Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," III., i., pp. 161–177.

to Santa Fé, for he deemed his presence more essential than ever at Zuñi to maintain the faithful in their religion. He was not able to return till 1705, when he was well received, and resumed his missionary duties; but Zuñi was soon added to the already onerous duties of Father Miranda.[1]

In 1706 the city of San Francisco de Alburquerque was founded, the name being subsequently changed to San Felipe. It began with thirty-five Spanish families, and steps were taken at the outset to meet their religious wants, a church being erected, which the king supplied with the requisite vestments, plate, and other articles required in the services of the altar.

The temporary chapel erected by Governor Vargas on recapturing Santa Fé, had served as a parish church till this time, but was in a wretched condition, and far too small for the increasing number of the people and the garrison. The Marquis de la Peñuela y Almirante, who was Governor of New Mexico in 1708, proposed to the Viceroy of New Spain to erect a suitable parish church at his own expense, if he was permitted to employ the Indians of the neighboring towns. This was permitted, but the Viceroy made it a condition that the workmen were to be paid, and that they should not be required to work on the church at the time their services were required to gather in their crops. The Marquis then began the new church.

In 1709 the pueblo of Jemes was sacked by the Navajos, who carried off all the vestments and church plate. The same year the energetic Custos, Father John de la Peña, col-

[1] "Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," III., i., pp. 177–186, 190, 194. Letter of Father Garaicoechea, Zuñi, March 7, 1703; of Father Miranda, Laguna, March 12, 1703. In 1707 Father Francis de Irazabal appears as missionary at Alona or Zuñi; and in 1713 Father Carlos Delgado, a young and zealous missionary, at Acoma and Laguna.

lected the Tehuas, who were scattered in different pueblos, and even among the Apaches, and revived their old mission at Isleta, obtaining all needed vestments and plate for the chapel. He also made a careful visitation of all the missions, accompanied by a secular priest. He suppressed many abuses, superstitions, and heathen observances among the converted Indians, especially scalp-dances and the estufas.[1]

The civil authorities took up the matter, and rigorous means were taken to suppress the estufas, which were originally vapor baths, but became the secret scene of heathen rites, and plots against the Christian religion and the whites, fomented by the medicine-men. From time to time active governors aided by the missionaries would make the attempt to eradicate this secret idolatry, but after a while vigilance would relax, and the old heathenism would revive.

New Mexico upon its settlement was for a brief term included in the diocese of Guadalajara, but when the see of Durango, or Guadiana, was erected by Pope Paul V., on the 11th of October, 1620, it was included in the limits of the new diocese. The Rt. Rev. Benedict Crespo took possession of the see on the 22d of March, 1723. A bishop of energy and devotion to duty, he made three visitations of his extensive diocese during the eleven years that he filled the see, and during the second visitation he penetrated to New Mexico, and was the first bishop who had strength and courage to overcome all the difficulties in his way. His presence encouraged the missionaries and strengthened the faith of all.

His successor, Rt. Rev. Martin de Elizacochea, who became Bishop of Durango in 1736, followed the example of Bishop Crespo. He made a visitation of New Mexico, and

[1] "Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," III., i., pp. 192, 196–7.

a record of his visit is graven on Inscription Rock near the Rio Zuñi. "On the 28th day of September, 1737, the most Illustrious Dr. Don Martin de Elizacochea, Bishop of Durango, arrived here, and the 29th he proceeded to Zuñi."[1]

In 1733 missions were begun among the Jicarilla Apaches near Taos, by the Father Custos John Ortes de Velasco, but the Governor broke them up, as the mission diminished the fur trade. In 1742 Father John Menchero attempted to restore religion among the Moquis and Navajos. The next year Fathers Delgado and Pino settled four hundred and forty-one souls from Moqui, in the mission of San Agustin de la Isleta, although the Governor refused to encourage the Franciscans. Attempts were also made to win the Navajos.[2]

Then the notices of the state of religion in New Mexico became few and vague. In 1748 the churches are reported as in good condition, and comparing favorably with those of Europe. Missionaries officiated in suitable churches at Santa Cruz, Pecos, Galisteo, El Paso, San Lorenzo, Socorro, Zia, Candeleras, Taos, Santa Ana, San Agustin de Isleta, Tezuque, Nambe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, San Juan de los Caballeros, Picuries, Cochiti, Jemes, Laguna, Acoma, and Guadalupe.[3]

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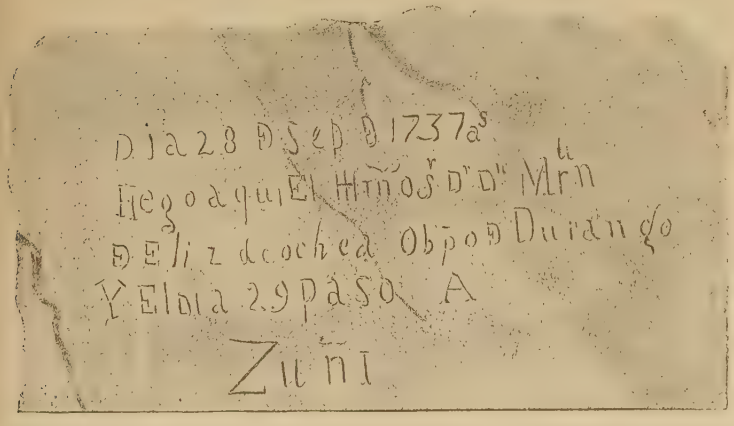
[1] "Concilios Provinciales Primero y Segundo celebrados en la . . . ciudad de Mexico," Mexico, 1769, pp. 373–4. Gams, "Series Episcoporum," p. 149. Rt. Rev. Peter Tamaron, Bishop of Durango, 1757–1768, who addressed to the king a full description of his diocese, and who died in Sinaloa, during a visitation, also apparently reached New Mexico, but the acts of these visitations are not in the archives of the Diocese, which were examined for me by the present Rt. Rev. Bishop; and Bishop Tamaron's report, though recently seen, could not now be found for me in Spain.

[2] Morfi, "Descripcion Geografica del Nuevo Mexico," 1782.

[3] Villaseñor, "Teatro Americano," pp. 411–422.

The Spanish settlements were Santa Fé, San Miguel del Bado, Alameda, Alburquerque, Tomé, Belen, Sabinal, Socorro, Abiquiu, with several smaller places. Santa Fé had its secular parish priest, as El Paso also had; all other churches whether of Spanish or Indians were attended by the Franciscan Fathers, numbering about twenty-two.




RECORD OF BISHOP ELIZACOCHEA'S VISITATION ON INSCRIPTION ROCK.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE CHURCH IN ARIZONA, 1690–1763.

THE Franciscan missions in New Mexico had never extended successfully to the tribes beyond the limits of that province, although efforts were made at times from Texas and New Mexico to win the fierce Apaches. The Society of Jesus, after relinquishing Florida, founded a province in Mexico which has a glorious history. At an early day the Church began to evangelize Sinaloa,[1] then pushed northward and established her great Sonora mission in 1590, winning many tribes to the Church.

The remarkable missionary, Father Eusebius Francis Kühn, called in Spanish Kino, was the apostle of Pimeria Alta, the Upper Pima country, embracing much of our present territory of Arizona. He was a native of Trent, and entered the Society of Jesus in Bavaria. After being Superior of the Fathers who served as chaplains in the fleet of Admiral Obando, he was appointed to found the Pima missions.

He entered Upper Pimeria March 13, 1687, and established his first mission at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, having gained a chief named Coxi as his first convert. From this point he extended his influence in all directions, evincing wonderful ability in gaining the Indians, and in presenting the truths of Christianity in a way to meet their comprehension and reach their hearts.

[1] It was founded in 1590 by Saint Francis Borgia, a saint identified also with the introduction of Christianity into Florida.

No life has been written of this Father, who stands with the Venerable Anthony Margil as the greatest missionaries who labored in this country, extraordinary as were the services of Fathers White, Fremin, Bruyas, Allouez, and Druillettes. Of Father Kühn, the historian of California says:

"He labored with apostolic zeal in converting and civilizing the heathen Indians. He made constant excursions into their territory with intrepid valor and unattended. He assembled many in towns, forming them to agriculture and the keeping of herds; because this was a step towards maintaining missionaries for their conversion and spiritual good, and for their civilization. Overcoming the tedious difficulties, he learned their different languages, translated the catechism and prayers, which he then taught them orally, undeterred by their boorishness and indocility. He formed vocabularies and instructions for his fellow-laborers and successors; attracted the Indians by his wonderful gentleness and affability, till they all confided in him, as though he were the father of each one individually. He built houses and chapels; formed missions and towns; conciliated hostile nations; and if he could have obtained the auxiliary missioners whom he repeatedly solicited, and not been hampered by constant impediments, calumnies, and false reports," "he would then easily have converted all the tribes lying between Sonora and the rivers Gila and Colorado."[1] Clavigero affirms all this, and states, moreover, that he travelled more than twenty thousand miles, and baptized more than 48,000 infants and adults. "On his long and toilsome journeys he carried no provision but some parched corn; he never omitted to say mass, and never slept in a bed. He journeyed on, communing with God in prayer, or chanting psalms and hymns."[2]

[1] Venegas, "Noticia de la California," Madrid, 1757, ii., p. 88.

[2] Clavigero, "Storia della California," Venice, 1789, i., pp. 263–4.

He was a man of constant prayer, visiting our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament a hundred times in the day, gifted with tears, and spending his nights in contemplation or austere exercises, yet finding time for mission work, such as few would have attempted and no other man could have sustained.

An Indian outbreak, in which Father Saeta was cruelly put to death, convulsed all Sonora, and for a time checked the progress of the missions in Upper Pimeria, but when quiet was restored at the close of 1696, Father Kühn obtained fellow-laborers, founding missions at Guevavi, Cocospera, San Cayetano, and San Xavier del Bac. The last was the largest rancheria in Upper Pimeria, with 176 houses and 803 souls. Hearing of the Casas Grandes near the Gila, Father Kühn visited those remarkable ruins, and in 1698 descended the Gila to the mouth of the Colorado, announcing the Gospel to Pima, Papago, Cocomaricopa, and Yuma. Yet the lives of missionaries were in constant peril, for in January of that year Cocospera, where Father Peter Ruiz de Contreras was stationed, was sacked and burned by the Apaches and Yumas.

His appeals for aid were traversed; the converts he collected were driven away to the mines by Spanish officials, till by his complaints to the king a check was put to the unchristian course. Four Fathers are said to have come in 1701, two of whom were sent to Guevavi and San Xavier del Bac, but it was probably only an intention never carried out. His only permanent fellow-laborer was Father Augustine de Campos, who joined him in 1693. Though something was done in 1704, and some churches were rebuilt in Sonora, the movement does not appear to have reached Arizona.

Undeterred by his reverses, Father Kühn founded the mission of Santa Maria Soamca, or St. Mary Immaculate, and restored those at Guevavi and San Xavier del Bac. He

induced the Indians to settle around missions and stations where he erected adobe churches and houses. He encouraged them to build regular houses, dig irrigating trenches, and cultivate the soil.[1]

Early in 1711 his devoted fellow-laborer, Father Campos, who had completed the church of Saint Francis Xavier at Magdalena, invited Father Kühn to its dedication. Praying before the altar over which hung the picture of his patron and model, the Apostle of the Indies, Father Kühn felt that his lifework was ended, and prepared for a death which was the holy crown of his devoted life.

After his death in 1711 his work was maintained by Father de Campos, but when he, too, was called away, none came to continue their labors till 1720. Nine missionaries sent in that year found much to be done. Churches had fallen to decay; little trace of former teaching could be discerned in the Indians, who had relapsed into their old pagan ways.

In 1727 the Rt. Rev. Benedict Crespo, Bishop of Durango, visited this portion of his diocese. He was pained to see that the missions had not been sustained, and that so many Indians were left without instruction. He resolved to make an appeal to the King of Spain. Philip V. ordered three central missions to be established at the royal expense. In 1731, to the joy of the Bishop, three Jesuit Fathers were sent—Father Ignatius Xavier Keler, Father John Baptist Grashoffer, who took up his residence at Guevavi, and Father Philip Segesser, who revived the mission at San Xavier del Bac. Of the last two, one soon died, and another was prostrated by sickness, but Father Ignatius Keler became the leader of the new missions in that district, taking possession of Santa Maria Soamca April 20, 1732. The pious Marquis of Villapuente,

[1] Letter of FF. Bernal, Kino, etc., Dec. 4, 1697. "Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," III., i., pp. 804–7.

who died in February, 1739, left funds to found two other missions.[1]

San Xavier del Bac was the largest mission, surrounded by Sobaipuris, Papagos, and Pimas, with the presidio of Tucson not far off, which the Jesuits also attended, no secular priest accepting the dangerous ministry.

Guevavi had as stations Sonoitac, Calabazas, Tumacacori, and Aribaca, with a presidio or military station at Tubac.

These central missions and many of the stations visited from them had neat adobe churches, supplied with becoming vestments and altar service of silver; several of them had organs, obtained by the missionaries to gratify the Indian love of music. At each of these churches and chapels the children recited an abridgment of the Christian Doctrine every day in their own language and also in Spanish, while old and young did so on Sundays and holidays after mass, at which an instruction had been given. During Lent there were regular courses of sermons.

Yet so dull were the minds of these Indians, that an old Sonora missionary once declared that there were no Christians in the world who recited the Christian Doctrine more constantly, or who really knew it less than these Indians.

On Saturday the Rosary and Litany of the Blessed Virgin were recited.

In 1744 Father Keler reported that he had baptized more than two thousand, and had a Christian flock of one thousand brave, industrious Pimas, who had well-tilled fields with herds and flocks. Father Keler extended his mission labors at the peril of his life to the Gila and beyond it.

In 1742 the moving camp of San Felipe de Jesus, estab-

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[1] "Apostolicos Afanes," pp. 340–3. Pfefferkorn, "Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora," p. 327.

lished to protect the missions, was fixed permanently at Terenate, to be a bulwark against the Apaches, and that presidio or garrison fell under the care of the Jesuit missionaries; but of so little avail was it, that on the 16th of February, 1746, the Apaches attacked Cocospera, one of the dependent missions, and burned the church. Father Keler was succeeded in time by Father Diego Joseph Barrera.

In 1750 Father Keler was still at Soamca, Father Joseph Garrucho at Guevavi, and Father Francisco Paver at San Xavier del Bac. The next year the Pimas rose and destroyed several missions, killing two missionaries, Fathers Tello and Ruhen, in Sonora. They also destroyed Aribaca, killing many of the Catholic Indians there.

Father Keler opposing the injustice of an official was misrepresented, and for a time was compelled to leave his mission, but his services were too much needed, and he was soon permitted to return.

Soon after this tragedy we find Father Barrera at Santa Maria Soamca, Father Ildefonso Espinosa at San Xavier, and Father Ignatius Pfefferkorn at Guevavi.[1] But they beheld the Indians of their missions decreasing, many, from fear of the Apaches or other enemies, leaving their towns to seek refuge in the woods.[2]

About this time Father Sedelmayr, at the instance of the Spanish Government, was evangelizing the tribes on the Gila, erecting seven or eight churches in the villages of the Papagos, among whom the German Father Bernard Middendorf also labored, and Father Keler was endeavoring to reach the Moquis, who were willing to receive missionaries of any kind but Franciscans.[3]

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[1] "Rudo Ensayo," pp. 148–152.

[2] "Doc. para la Hist. de Mexico," III., i., pp. 686–7.

[3] "Noticias de la Pimeria del ano de 1740." Letter of Sedelmayr.

While the Fathers were thus employed, the terrible order came from the King of Spain, under which every member of the Society of Jesus was seized at his mission as a criminal, and hurried off to a prison-ship. Father Barrera was the last at Santa Maria Soamca; Custodius Ximeno, an Arragonese, at Guevavi; Father Anthony Castro, an Andalusian, at San Xavier del Bac. Father Pfefferkorn, a native of Manheim in Germany, who has left us a most interesting account of the Sonora mission, had been transferred to Cucurpe in 1757.[1]

Up to 1763 no considerable Spanish town had grown up in Arizona, and though the fertility of the soil and the rich mineral wealth attracted settlers, the fierce and constant inroads of the Apaches made life insecure, and caused many places to be abandoned.

By the summary act of the Spanish monarch every church in Arizona was closed, and the Christian Indians were deprived of priests to direct them.

In the vast portion of our territory which had been subject to the Catholic kings, the state of religion about 1763 was not one to inspire any sanguine hopes. Florida had been ceded to Protestant England, and religion was menaced there with utter extinction—the Indian missions had been almost annihilated; in Texas progress was slow, the Indian missions grouped around a few Spanish settlements; New Mexico seemed to need a local bishop to reanimate the faith of the people; Arizona was deprived of its clergy.

[1] Pfefferkorn, i., p. 335.

# BOOK VI.

## THE CHURCH IN FRENCH TERRITORY.

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### CHAPTER I.

THE CHURCH IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, 1690–1763.

Bishop St. Vallier, of Quebec, was of a family that had seen several members honored with the mitre in France, and was full of the spirit of the episcopate of that country. With none of that charm of personal sanctity which enabled Bishop Laval to accomplish so much good, Bishop St. Vallier sought to bring everything in his vast diocese into strict regularity by precise rules and regulations, and suffered no infringement

FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF BISHOP SAINT VALLIER.

on what he regarded as the rights of his see. His administration was a succession of personal trials and troubles, arising from the protests made by him or against him. The difficulties became such that the king insisted on his resignation of the See of Quebec, and the Bishop's attempted return to Canada was prevented by his capture at sea and a long captivity in England, where he was detained as a hostage for the surrender of the Provost of Liege.

Many of his general and particular acts affected the Church

in the Mississippi Valley and elsewhere within the present limits of the Republic.

He prepared and published a catechism and ritual for his diocese, and in 1690 he held a diocesan synod, in which seven statutes were adopted, the most important prohibiting the celebration of mass or the conferring of baptism in private houses in any place where there was a church, and in places where there was yet no church mass was not to be said in any house but one selected for the purpose and approved by the Bishop. The attendance of the faithful at mass on Sundays and holidays was to be rigorously maintained. In a second synod held at Montreal, March 3, 1694, seven other statutes were adopted, chiefly instructions to confessors. The statutes adopted in the third synod held at Quebec, February 23, 1698, were twenty-nine in number.[1] Among other points they directed exclusion from communion of those who refused to pay tithes; insisted on regular catechetical instructions, the proper registration of baptisms, marriages, and interments, and the suitable adornment of churches. They also regulated "Blessed Bread," censured the abuse of many in leaving the church during sermon, urged the establishment of the Sisters of the Congregation in all parishes to direct the schools, and exhorted the faithful to liberality in almsgiving.[2]

We have seen that he protested against the dismemberment of his diocese by the erection of Vicariates-Apostolic in the Mississippi Valley, and this was apparently prior to his

[1] "Statuts publiés dans le premier Synode tenu le 9e Novembre, 1690." Archives de Quebec, A., p. 285.

[2] "Statuts II. Synod." Ib., A., p. 522; "III. Synod," A., p. 683. He issued pastorals in 1692, 1694, and 1695, announcing Jubilees proclaimed by the Sovereign Pontiff. Bishop St. Vallier's Statutes remained in force in all parts of our territory east of the Mississippi, embraced in the diocese of Quebec down to the erection of the see of Baltimore, and the recognition of the authority of the Bishop of Santiago in the West.

consecration as Bishop in 1688. Over the missions in the remote parts of the diocese he seems to have watched with great care.

In the Illinois Father James Gravier succeeded the veteran Allouez about 1689, and in December of the following year Bishop St. Vallier appointed him his Vicar-General. The preamble of this document says: "Having recognized since we took possession of this see, that the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who are engaged in the conversion of the Indians of this country, devote themselves thereto with all care, and take all pains that we can desire, without sparing their labors or even their life, and in particular as we know that for the last twenty years they have labored on the mission of the Illinois whom they first discovered, to whom Father Marquette of the same Society published the faith in the year 1672, and subsequently died in this glorious task which had been confided to him by our predecessor, and that after the death of Father Marquette, we committed it to Father Allouez, also a Jesuit, who after laboring there for several years ended his life, exhausted by the great hardships which he underwent in the instruction and conversion of the Islinois, Miamis, and other nations, and finally as we have given the care of this mission of the Islinois and other surrounding nations to Father Gravier of the same Society, who has employed himself therein with great benediction bestowed by God on his labors, for this cause we confirm and ratify what we have done, and anew confide the missions of the Islinois and surrounding nations, as well as those of the Miamis, Sious, and others in the Ottawa country, and towards the West to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and give the Superiors of the said missions all the authority of our Vicars-General," etc.[1]

[1] "Archives de l'Archevêché de Québec." Registre, A., p. 502.

The Miami mission on St. Joseph's River, also prospered. Governor Denonville had granted to the missionaries of the Society of Jesus a concession of twenty arpents along the river, by twenty arpents in depth, at such spot as they should deem most suitable to erect a chapel and house.[1] Father de Carheil was at the church at Michilimackinac, and the aged Father Henry Nouvel at Green Bay. Around these posts French were gathering slowly, and in Illinois several had settled down, taking wives among the converted Indians.

During Gravier's absence an old convert summoned the Catholic Indians morning and evening to prayers. Toward the end of April the missionary blessed a new chapel which he had erected outside of the French fort[2] for the greater convenience of the Indians, and erected a tall cross. The Peoria tribe, which he also visited, were less fervent, for the chief, Assapita, who was a medicine-man, used all his influence to thwart the missionary. Gravier planned missions to the Cahokia and Tamarois bands of Illinois, which he subsequently carried out,[3] as well as to the Osages and Missouris, tribes who kept up a friendly intercourse with the Illinois, and sent ambassadors, whom Father Gravier welcomed. The French at the post, whose lives drew down the reproof of the missionary, prejudiced the Indians against him; Michael Ako, the old comrade of Father Hennepin, who sought to marry Aramipinchicwe, the daughter of the Kaskaskia chief, Rouensac, her parents compelling her most unwillingly to become his wife, especially labored to diminish the influence

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[1] Gravier, "Lettre en forme de Journal de la Mission de l'Immaculée Conception de N. D. aux Illinois, 15 Fevrier, 1694"; Margry, "Etablissements et Découvertes," v., p. 35.

[2] This was evidently Fort Peoria; see St. Cosme in "Relation de la Mission du Mississippi," p. 26.

[3] "Relation de la Mission du Mississippi," p. 35.

JOHN BAPTIST DE LA CROIX DE ST. VALIER.

BISHOP OF QUEBEC

of Father Gravier, till, touched by conscience, he recanted all, and urged the chief to become a Christian, promising to amend his own life.[1] Rouensac and his family embraced the faith, and the Quebec missionaries a few years afterward attested his progress in civilization and Christianity. Father Gravier adapting himself to Indian usage went regularly through the town, giving his cry to invite the converts and the well-disposed heathen to prayer; he also gave banquets, that he might without offense censure anything which he found amiss.

Besides the Kaskaskia town, there was a Peoria town near, and several smaller villages, all of which Father Gravier visited regularly. Sickness prevailed, and he was ever on the watch to instruct adults and baptize dying children. His baptisms between March 30, 1693, and November 29, numbered two hundred and six.

In 1696 he was joined by Father Julian Binneteau, who apparently remained at Kaskaskia, while Father Gravier descended to Montreal, and subsequently devoted himself to the more distant missions, and Father Peter Pinet founded the Miami mission of the Angel Guardian at Chicago, where there were two villages containing in all some 300 cabins, and where he converted the Peoria chief who had resisted Father Gravier's exhortations. Yet the Count de Frontenac, Governor of Canada, compelled Father Pinet to abandon his mission, until the influence of Bishop Laval enabled him to resume his Gospel labors. The next year Father Gravier was confirmed in his powers as Vicar-General by Bishop St. Vallier, and was soon after joined by Father

[1] The records of the baptisms, etc., in his family, beginning Mar. 20, 1695, are the first extracts in the ancient Register of Father Gravier's mission preserved at Alton. They show that the descendants of the young convert of Father Gravier were long prominent in Illinois.

Gabriel Marest, who learned the Illinois language, and adapted himself to his new duties with remarkable facility. The venerable Bishop Laval was so interested in this mission that he gave the last pieces of silver which he had retained for his table, in order to make a chalice for it, and he presented a ciborium to the Church of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia.[1] Prior to 1700 the famous Father Rale arrived in the Illinois missions, where he spent two years.[2]

The priests of the Seminary of Quebec, which was an outgrowth of that of the Foreign Missions at Paris, felt it incumbent on them to do something for the conversion of those tribes in the West, among whom no permanent establishment had yet been made. Bishop St. Vallier entered into their plans, and on the 1st of May, 1698, officially authorized them to establish missions in the West, investing the Superior sent out by the Seminary with the powers of Vicar-General. The field they solicited was that inhabited by nations on both banks of the Mississippi and its tributaries.[3]

They purposed to plant their first mission among the Tamarois, but when this was known the Fathers of the Society of Jesus claimed that tribe as one already under their care. The Seminary regarded the Tamarois territory as "the key and necessary passage to reach the more distant nations," and therefore highly important to them. Bishop St. Vallier accordingly by letters of July 14, 1698, confirmed

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[1] "Lettre du p. Jacques Gravier à Mgr. de Laval, Sept. 17, 1697." "Lettre du p. Julien Binneteau, 1699." "Relation des Affaires du Canada," pp. 24, 34, 57. "Extrait des Registres de Baptesmè de la Mission des Illinois," show Gravier officiating in 1695, 1712; Binneteau, 1697; Gabriel Marest, 1699, 1703, 1709; Mermet, 1707, 1712. Letter of F. Gabriel Marest (Kip, pp. 206–7).

[2] Letter of Oct. 12, 1723, in "Lettres Edifiantes" (Kip, p. 42).

[3] "Mandement de Mgr. de St. Vallier" in "Relation de la Mission du Mississippi," New York, 1861, pp. 9–12.

those previously granted, and specially empowered the Seminary to send missionaries to the Tamarois and establish a residence there.[1]

To found the new missions on the Mississippi, the Seminary selected V. Rev. Francis Jolliet de Montigny, Rev. Anthony Davion, and Rev. John Francis Buisson de Saint Cosme. The outfit for this Christian enterprise amounted to more than ten thousand livres, nearly one-half being furnished by Messrs. Montigny and Davion. The party set out, and reaching Mackinac in September, passed by Father Pinet's Chicago mission, and by Father Marest's near Fort Peoria, where they obtained an Illinois catechism and prayer-book. On the 5th of December they entered the Mississippi River, and guided by Tonty, they visited the Tamarois, on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, and then sailed down the great river to the villages of the Arkansas, Tonicas, and Taensas, planting crosses at several points.

The Very Rev. Mr. Montigny took up his residence among the Taensas, a tribe allied to the Natchez. These Indians had a temple in which they worshipped nine gods. In March, 1700, Iberville, who had sailed from France to the mouth of the Mississippi, while ascending it found the missionary erecting a chapel, encouraged by his having been able to baptize eighty-five children in his first year. He subsequently went to the Natchez, retaining his care of the Taensas. The Rev. Mr. Davion established his residence and chapel on a hill near the Tonica village, at the foot of a cross planted on a rock which for a long time bore his

[1] "Lettres Patentes de Mgr. de St. Vallier"; Archives de Quebec. Frontenac, by his Letters Patent, July 17, 1698, authorized Rev. Messrs. Montigny, Davion, and St. Cosme, to go to the Mississippi. Archives of the Propaganda. America Septentrionale, i., 1669–1791.

name.[1] He extended his labors also to the Ounspik and Yazoo Indians, who numbered together about a hundred cabins; and nearly lost his life by destroying the idols in the Yazoo temple.[2] The Rev. Mr. Saint Cosme went up the river again to begin a mission at Tamarois.

All these priests were at first prostrated by fevers, but none thought of abandoning the work which they had undertaken. Hearing of the arrival of a French expedition at the mouth of the river, the Very Rev. Mr. Montigny and Rev. Mr. Davion embarked in bark canoes, and reached Biloxi on the 1st of July, but finding the little post ill-provisioned, they returned to their missions.[3]

While acquiring a knowledge of the Taensa language, the Very Rev. Mr. Montigny visited the Natchez, and was there when the Great Sun or head chief of the nation died. When the good priest saw these savages prepare to put several persons to death, that they might attend the Sun in the next world, he made the tribe presents to induce them to abandon so cruel and foolish a custom. The Natchez promised to consult his wishes, but Ouachil Tamail, the Female Sun, persuaded the priest to leave the village for a time, pretending that the noise would be very annoying to him. When he had departed the cruel ceremony was carried out in the usual manner.[4]

The next year the Seminary, to give the Mississippi mis-

[1] Roche à Davion, afterward called Loftus Heights, and now Fort Adams. Claiborne, "Mississippi," Jackson, 1880, p. 21.

[2] Pénicaut in Margry, v., p. 438.

[3] Bénard de la Harpe, "Journal Historique," p. 16. Cardinal Taschereau, "Mission du Seminaire de Québec chez les Tamarois ou Illinois sur le bord du Mississippi," written in 1849. De la Potherie, "Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale," Paris, 1722, i., p. 238. Margry, "Découvertes et Etablissements," v., pp. 401–8.

[4] Gravier, "Relation on Journal du Voyage," New York, 1859, p. 39.

sion an effective force, sent out the Rev. Messrs. Bergier Bouteville and Saint Cosme, the last named a younger brother of the missionary already at Tamarois, but not yet in priest's orders. These clergymen were accompanied by three pious men who had devoted themselves to the work, and went to attend to the menial work. On their arrival the elder St. Cosme descended to Natchez.[1]

The Fathers of the Society of Jesus received the Quebec missionaries with personal cordiality, but notwithstanding the official action of Bishop Saint Vallier, they showed much feeling in regard to what they regarded as an intrusion into a district occupied by tribes among which their religious had already begun to labor. The proximity to the Jesuit missions in the other bands of the Illinois nation, certainly made the choice injudicious. Ere long the Very Rev. Mr. Montigny found his position so embarrassing and unpleasant that he began to foresee only loss and failure in the mission on which he had embarked so zealously and given his means so freely. In the hope of being able to adjust all matters in regard to it satisfactorily in France, he embarked with Iberville, in May, 1700, and returned to France by way of New York.[2]

On his departure, the Rev. Mr. Bergier became Superior of the secular missionaries in the Mississippi Valley, and made Tamarois his residence, Rev. Mr. St. Cosme remaining at Natchez. After reaching the mouth of the Mississippi in 1699, d'Iberville built a little fort at Biloxi, and left Mr.

[1] Bénard de la Harpe, "Journal Historique," p. 28. Margry, v., p. 404.

[2] Pénicaut, "Relation Véritable," in Margry, v., p. 444. He was in Paris in September, 1700, when Rev. Mr. St. Cosme wrote complaining that Fathers Gravier and Binneteau wished to prevent his officiating in the chapel at the fort, and Gravier wrote complaining of the Quebec priests.

Sauvolle in command. At this little post, the first French settlement in Louisiana, the Rev. Mr. Bordenave was chaplain, and he begins the line of zealous priests in that territory. Sauvolle bears testimony to his exemplary life, and records that he said mass daily for the French, and gathered them morning and evening to prayers, as on board ship. Thus began the regular services of the church in Louisiana, in May, 1699.[1]

D'Iberville, on his second voyage in 1700, was accompanied by the Jesuit Father Du Ru, who on the 14th of February, erected a cross, offered the holy sacrifice, and blessed a cemetery at Fort Mississippi, seventeen leagues from the mouth of the great river. When a post at Biloxi was decided upon, Father Du Ru took up his residence there, and began to visit the neighboring tribes of Indians, but he removed to Mobile when that post arose. Hearing of the arrival, Father Gravier set out from Chicago on the 8th of September, 1700, and visiting the various posts and missions on the way, reached Fort Mississippi on the 17th of December. At the Tonica village he found the Rev. Mr. Davion dangerously ill, and remained with him till Rev. Mr. Saint Cosme arrived from Natchez to minister to his associate.

The Jesuit Father de Limoges, appointed to found a mission among the Oumas, was descending the Mississippi when his canoe drifted at night from the shore to which it had been made fast, and borne along by the current struck a floating tree. He saved nothing but his chalice, and clinging to a floating branch was finally driven ashore near a village of the Arkansas Indians. Having obtained relief he pursued his journey, and planting a cross at the Oumas village, be-

[1] Sauvolle in Margry, iv., p. 447; French's "Historical Collections," iii., p. 237.

gan in March, 1700, to erect a chapel forty feet long, announcing the Gospel to that tribe and the Bayagoulas.[1]

With missions among the Illinois, and at the mouth of the Mississippi the Jesuit Fathers solicited from Bishop Saint Vallier the exclusive direction of the French posts in Louisiana, and asked that the Superior of the mission should always be appointed Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec.[2] At the same time they complained to the king of France of the intrusion into their mission district of missionaries who belonged to another body.

Bishop Saint Vallier consulted several members of the French hierarchy on the point, among others the Bishop of Chartres, and by their advice declined to give any religious order the complete and exclusive direction of Louisiana, deeming it better to assign districts to religious or collegiate bodies, or secular priests, all to be subject to a Vicar-General, named from time to time by the Bishop of Quebec, till such time as the state of the church would warrant the establishment of a see at New Orleans.[3] He also withdrew the powers of Vicar-General from Father Gravier, and conferred them on Rev. Messrs. Colombière, Montigny, and Bergier, requiring all priests, regular and secular, to apply to them.

Meanwhile the appeal of the Jesuits with a memoir of Bishop Saint Vallier had been referred by the king to the Archbishop of Auch, but as he declined to decide the question alone, the Bishops of Marseilles and Chartres, with the king's confesssor, were associated with him. On the 4th of

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[1] Gravier, "Relation on Journal du Voyage," New York, 1859; Margry, iv., pp. 418, 422.

[2] "Ministre de la Marine à Mr. l'Evêque de Québec," 17 Juin, 1703. Margry, iv., pp. 634–5.

[3] "Memoire de Mgr. l'Evêque de Québec sur les missions de Mississippi." Archives de l'Archevêché de Québec. Margry, iv., p. 431.

June, 1701, this commission decided that the Seminary of Quebec was entitled to the Tamarois mission, and their decision was accepted and signed by all parties interested.

The V. Rev. Mr. Montigny had, however, become completely discouraged, his management of the mission not being fully approved. He never returned to America, but went to the East, where he rendered signal services to religion.

The Mississippi question having been satisfactorily adjusted, the Bishop of Quebec reappointed the Superior of the Jesuits in Illinois Vicar-General in his district.

In 1700 Rev. Nicholas Foucault, sent by the Seminary, took up his residence among the Arkansas Indians, and began to announce the faith to them.

The news that the French had settled at the mouth of the Mississippi produced a commotion among the tribes in Illinois. The Kaskaskias resolved to go and settle near them. The Peorias remained around the church, but Father Marest accompanied the Kaskaskias, who finally on the advice of Father Gravier, who assembled them in council, abandoned their project, and took up their abode at the place which now bears their name.[1] Some of the Tamarois also left their old village ground, and Father Pinet became their missionary, succeeded ere long by Father Binneteau, who attended them and others on their long buffalo hunts beyond the Mississippi. The Rev. Mr. Bergier remained at the Tamarois post, with Thaumur de la Source devoting himself more especially to the French, who had by this time become numerous. The expenses of the missions had been so great that V. Rev. Mr. Bergier, the new Superior, was urged to exercise judgment and economy. The Rev. Mr. Saint Cosme had projected

[1] In the Extracts from old Registers prefixed to the Kaskaskia register is the entry, "1703 Apr. 25. Ad ripam Metchigamea dictam venimus," apparently giving the date of the removal of the Kaskaskias.

a mission to the Pawnees or Missouris, but he was instructed to prevent him, as it would be almost impossible to send supplies to so remote a station.[1]

The Rev. Nicholas Foucault was an aged priest, in poor health, but he devoted himself to the Mississippi mission in place of Rev. Mr. de la Colombiere, whom the people of Quebec would not allow to go. He had already accomplished much good among the Arkansas, when, in 1702, he set out for Mobile with his servant and two Frenchmen who had just established peace between the Chickasaws and Illinois. They took as guides two Indians of the Coroa tribe, akin to the Arkansas. They killed all the Frenchmen to rob them, and, as they pretended, to punish the priest for leaving the Arkansas. Rev. Mr. Davion at the time was ascending the Mississippi and discovered on the banks of the river the bodies of these victims of Indian ferocity. He interred them with the rites of the Church, but the memoirs of the time do not fix the last resting-place of this first martyr of the Seminary of Quebec in the valley of the Mississippi.[2]

The first attempt by the French to establish any industrial work on the Mississippi was that of the Sieur Juchereau, who undertook to conduct a tannery at the mouth of the Ohio. Here Father John Mermet erected his altar for the little Catholic settlement, but it did not prosper, and by 1704

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[1] The king of France gave 3,000 livres toward the Seminary missions, but Bishop St. Vallier now ceased to give the annual donation of 2,000 livres, on the ground that so few missionaries were maintained there. Cardinal Taschereau, "Memoire."

[2] Cardinal Taschereau, "Memoire"; Bénard de la Harpe, "Journal Historique," pp. 38, 73, 87. Nicholas Foucault was born in the diocese of Paris, ordained at Quebec Dec. 3, 1689, and was Curé of Batiscan in 1690. Tainguay, "Repertoire," p. 65. Pénicaut (Margry, v., p. 458) puts his death in 1705, evidently erroneously. It was announced by Davion in October, 1702. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 73.

the founder was dead, and the project abandoned. While Juchereau's establishment lasted Father Mermet ministered to the French, and made earnest efforts to convert the Mascoutin Indians, who had planted their cabins around the post; but his mission work, though carried out at the risk of his life, resulted only in the conversion of a few dying adults and the baptism of some infants.[1]

Bishop Saint Vallier in 1703 proposed to the Seminary at Quebec to erect Mobile into a parish, and to annex it in perpetuity to that institution. The Seminary agreed to supply clergy for the new parish, which the Bishop formally erected on the 20th of July, 1703, uniting it to the Seminary of the Foreign Missions at Paris and Quebec. The Rev. Henry Roulleaux de la Vente, a priest of the diocese of Bayeux,

SIGNATURE OF REV. HENRY ROULLEAUX DE LA VENTE.

was then appointed parish priest, and Rev. Alexander Huvé, curate. While awaiting their appearance, the Rev. Mr. Davion discharged the parochial functions till they arrived with other priests on the "Pelican," July 24, 1704. In the same vessel came two Gray Nuns (Sieurs Grises), but not to remain in the colony; a number of marriageable girls had been placed in their care, and after seeing them properly placed, the Sisters returned.[2]

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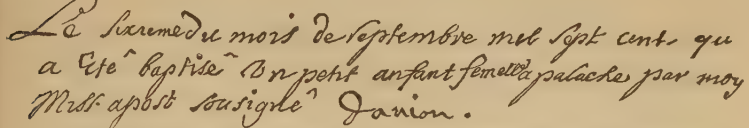
[1] "Relation des Affaires du Canada, 1696," p. 31. Margry, "Etablissements et Découvertes," v., p. 215. F. Gabriel Marest, Letter from Cascaskia (Kip's "Jesuit Missions," p. 202).

[2] Bénard de la Harpe, pp 84–5. Pénicaut, "Relation" in Margry, v., pp. 456, 470. Rev. Mr. La Vente's first entry in the Register is Sept. 18, 1704, and Huvé's, the 19th.

The first entry in the ancient Register of Mobile, a volume of great historical interest and value, records the baptism of an Apalache girl by Rev. Mr. Davion, on the 6th of September.



FAC-SIMILE OF THE FIRST ENTRY IN THE PARISH REGISTER OF MOBILE.

The maintenance of the clergy was expected from the king, who was to pay the parish priest one thousand livres a year, and the curate six hundred livres a year. They found that Rev. Mr. Davion had already taken steps to erect a church and parochial residence at Mobile. The parish priest on his arrival found Rev. Mr. Davion and the Jesuit Father Peter Dongé lodged in a new house, built on credit, and still without door or window. They borrowed seven hundred livres of Father Dongé to enable them to complete it.[1]

On the 28th of September the Rev. Mr. de la Vente was formally inducted into his parish, as appears by the following entry in the ancient parochial register of the Church of the Immaculate Conception at Mobile:

"I, undersigned, Priest and Missionary Apostolic, attest to all whom it may concern that in the year of our salvation 1704, on the 28th of the month of September, by virtue of letters of provision and collation granted and sealed on the 20th of July of last year, by which Monseigneur the most Illustrious and most Reverend Bishop of Quebec erects a par-

[1] Fathers Dongé and Limoge embarked for France in the "Pelican," in 1704. Pénicaut, "Relation" in Margry, v., p. 456; but Father Dongé died at Havana in September. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 85.

ish church in the place called Fort Louis de la Louisiane, and the cure and care of which he gives to Mr. Henry Roulleaux de la Vente, Missionary Apostolic of the diocese of Bayeux, I have placed the said priest in actual and corporal possession of the said parish church and of all the rights thereto belonging, after observing the accustomed and requisite ceremonies, namely, the entry into the church, the sprinkling of holy water, the kissing of the high altar, the touching of the missal, the visit to the Blessed Sacrament of the altar, the ringing of the bells, which taking of possession I attest that no one opposed.

"Given in the parish church of Fort Louis, the day of the month and year aforesaid, in presence of John Baptiste de Bieville, Lieutenant of the King, and Commander of the said fort; of Peter du Quay de Boisbriant, major; Nicolas de la Salle, scribe and acting commissary of the Marine.

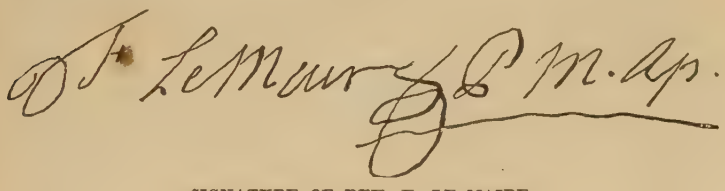
"Davion, Bienville, Boisbriant, de la Salle."

Late in the year 1705 Father Gravier was attacked by the Illinois, among whom he had labored so long and so devotedly. Instigated by the medicine-men, whose knavery the priest had denounced, they discharged a shower of arrows at him. One flint-headed weapon pierced his ear, but another struck him in the elbow, and the stone head was so embedded in the muscle that it could not be extracted. He also received a hatchet wound in the arm. The arm swelled fearfully, and the suffering of the missionary was intense: but his misery did not touch the hearts of the obdurate Illinois. They came at night to the number of two hundred to complete their fell design. Tearing down the palisades around the house they hoped to find him alone and kill him. Providentially two Frenchmen were there, who after preparing

for death, resolved to let one remain, while the other hastened to the neighboring camp of the Pottawatomies. A chief of that tribe hastened up and overawed the murderers. For three months his brother missioners, Mermet, and John Mary de Ville, endeavored to extract the arrow-head, but finding their efforts vain, he was sent to Mobile, whence he proceeded to Paris, and even there the surgeon gave him no hope of its extraction, though the treatment diminished the pain.[1]

He then returned to Louisiana in the "Renommée," which reached the roadstead at Isle Massacre, February 12, 1708.[2]

At this time the Rev. Mr. Gervaise, a wealthy young priest in France, wished to devote some of his patrimony to found a mission in Louisiana in concert with the Seminary



SIGNATURE OF REV. F. LE MAIRE.

of the Foreign Missions. He drew into his project the Rev. Mr. Le Maire, a virtuous priest, who resigned a good position at Paris, that of Vicar of St. Jacques de la Boucherie, in order to come to America and announce the gospel to the Indians. The Rev. Mr. Gervaise sent out provisions for three years, and three workmen to erect a house and chapel, and set apart sufficient of his estate to form a fund for the sup-

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[1] Letter of F. Mermet; Letter of F. Gravier, Paris, March 6, 1707, for which I am indebted to the venerable Father Felix Martin; Bénard de la Harpe, "Journal Historique," p. 95.

[2] "Lettre du Pere Jacques Gravier, le 23 Fevrier, 1708." New York, 1865.

port of the mission. At the last moment when Rev. Mr. Le Maire and all the rest were on board the vessel bound to Louisiana, an uncle of the Rev. Mr. Gervaise obtained an order to prevent his departure. He was compelled to remain in France, but Rev. Mr. Le Maire came over, and was for several years on the mission in Louisiana. The zealous young priest was never able to follow out his original intention or take part in the good work he founded.

Meanwhile the priests of the Seminary were thinned by death. The Rev. J. B. de St. Cosme started late in 1706 from his Natchez mission for Mobile, but while asleep at night on the banks of the river, his party was attacked and murdered by the Sitimachas about fifty miles from the mouth of the Mississippi. He was a native of Canada, born at Quebec, February 6, 1667, and was the first American priest who fell by the hands of savages in this country. He entered the preparatory seminary at Quebec, July 22, 1675, and was ordained on the feast of the Purification. After being missionary at Minas in Nova Scotia, he was sent with the Rev. Mr. Montigny to the Mississippi. Rev. Mr. St. Cosme, accustomed to Indian corn and other native fare, stood the hardships of the mission better than priests from France, but his health at last gave way, and he was suffering from a cruel infirmity when he set out for Mobile.[1]

On New-Year's day, 1707, the Very Rev. Mr. Bergier, V.G., who had set out from his Tamarois mission, reached Mobile with tidings of the death of the Canadian priest of Natchez;[2] but on his return to his mission he fell ill. Father

[1] Cardinal Taschereau, "Memoire"; Bienville to the Minister, 1707. Le Page du Pratz, "Histoire de la Louisiane," i., p. 106. Pénicaut, "Relation" in Margry, v., p. 433. Claiborne, "Mississippi," Jackson, 1880, p. 23, thinks he was killed near the present Donaldsonville.

[2] Bénard de la Harpe, p. 101.

Gabriel Marest hearing of his condition, hastened from Kaskaskia, and remained a week, till seeing his brother priest apparently regaining his health and out of danger, he set out for his own mission, but was almost at once summoned back to celebrate the requiem mass for Rev. Mr. Bergier, who suddenly grew worse and expired. This zealous and austere priest died, according to a memorandum in an ancient breviary in the Seminary of Quebec, on the 9th of November, 1707. The medicine-men exulted over his death as a triumph, each one ascribing it to his own incantations, and they broke down his cross to make the people believe that the mission was closed forever.[1]

Louisiana was increasing in population, but the settlers were not of the sturdy, industrious character found in those who built up Canada. Times had changed, too; less respect was paid to religion, and officials instead of upholding the Church and its ministers, or setting an example of respect for morality and religion, frequently afforded a pretext for those viciously inclined to plunge into every kind of excess. In the documents of the time instances constantly occur where the ministers of religion were openly treated with contempt.

The Rev. Mr. de la Vente was a man of eloquence, and entered on his duties earnestly; but his censure of the open profligacy in the colony made him many enemies, not the least being Governor Bienville, who withheld the salaries due the clergy. Those who sold liquor without limit to the Indians, encouraging them in drunkenness and violence, and all the loose livers, were arrayed against the first pastor of Mobile. In 1707, however, something was done for religion at that post. A larger residence was erected for the priests at the

[1] Cardinal Taschereau, "Histoire des Missions du Seminaire de Québec"; F. Gabriel Marest, Letter (Kip, pp. 211–4).

left of the fort on an eminence overlooking all the surrounding country.[1]

It is said that after the arrival of Father Gravier from France in 1708, Bienville wished to instal him in the parish church, and maintained him there till orders came from France to restore the church to the priests of the Seminary of the Foreign Missions to which it was canonically united; but the Register of Mobile has no entry by Father Gravier. The Rev. Mr. de la Vente was suffering from a painful disease and soon after returned to France, where he arrived in October, 1710, in a dying condition.[2]

SIGNATURE OF REV. ALEXANDER HUVÉ.

The Rev. Mr. Huvé, who came out as Vicar, besides assisting in the parish church, had taken charge of a band of fugitive Apalaches. These flying from English persecution, had settled about ten miles from Mobile.[3]

They were Catholics, and had erected a chapel and house for a missionary, but Rev. Mr. Huvé having no ability for acquiring Indian languages, was never able to instruct them in their own tongue.

In 1709, La Vigne Voisin began a fort on Isle Dauphine,

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[1] Pénicaut (Margry, v., p. 471).

[2] Not only Bienville and Father Gravier, but also de Boisbriant censure the course pursued by Rev. Mr. de la Vente; but that clergyman in a memoir to Pontchartrain (Gayarré, i., pp. 116–121), draws a terrible picture of the prevalent profligacy, neglect of religious observances, and contempt for the ministers of religion. He solicited permission to marry settlers to converted Indian women so as to prevent illicit connections, but this was refused. (Ib., p. 148.)

[3] Pénicaut (Margry, v., p. 460) says they arrived near Mobile toward the end of 1705. After Rev. Mr. Huvé, the Carmelite Father Charles, and the Recollect F. Victorin Dupui were missionaries of the Apalaches, and the latter also of the Mobilians. Register of Mobile.

and more attentive to religion than most colonizers of Louisiana, he erected a fine church near the redoubt. It faced the port where the vessels anchored, so that all on board could in a moment land to hear mass. This church drew many settlers to the island.[1] Here the Rev. Mr. Huvé became chaplain, but was nearly killed in November, 1710, by the English who made a descent on the island, and lost all his effects. He then retired to the Mississippi with the French, but wearying of their little respect for religion, solicited permission to undertake an Indian mission.[2]

The Rev. Mr. Davion maintained his Tonica mission till 1708, when parties of English Indians menaced it, and he withdrew to Mobile, preparing to return to France; but the destitute condition of the colony induced him to remain for several years.[3]

Rev. Mr. Le Maire acted also as chaplain in the fort.

The little village of the Apalaches showed that the missions of the Spanish Fathers had not been fruitless. Their old enemies, the Alibamons, pursued them and destroyed their new village, but Mr. de Bienville assigned them another reserve and grain to plant their fields. When the French left their first Mobile fort[4] these Indians followed, and Bienville

[1] Pénicaut, "Relation" (Margry, v., p. 482).

[2] He struggled on for some years, till having become almost blind, he returned to France in 1727.

[3] He left Louisiana in 1725, and died of gout among his kindred in France, April 8, 1726. Le Page du Pratz asked Mr. Davion whether his zeal for the salvation of the Indians was rewarded by progress. "He replied almost in tears, that notwithstanding the profound respect which these people bore him, he could with great difficulty succeed in baptizing some children at the point of death; that those who had attained the age of reason excused themselves from embracing our holy religion by saying that they were too old to subject themselves to rules so difficult to observe." "Histoire de la Louisiane," i., p. 123.

[4] The original fort at Mobile was above the present city, with store-

assigned them ground on Saint Martin's River, a league above the post. Pénicaut, a worthy chronicler of the early French days of Louisiana, says they were the only Christian nation who came to them from the Spanish territory. He gives interesting details: "The Apalaches have public service like Catholics in France. Their great feast is Saint Louis's day. On the eve they come to invite the officers of the fort to the festivities in their village, and they offer good cheer that day to all who come, especially the French.

"The priests of our fort go there to say the high mass, which they hear with much devotion, chanting the psalms in Latin as they do in France, and after dinner Vespers and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. The men and women are very properly dressed that day. The men wear a kind of cloth coat and the women mantles, petticoats of silk in French style, except that they wear no head-dresses, going bareheaded. Their long, jet-black hair is plaited, and hangs down the back in one or two plaits, such as Spanish girls wear. Those whose hair is too long, turn it up to the middle of the back, and tie it with ribbon.

"They have a church where one of our French priests goes on Sundays and holidays to say mass. They have a baptismal font to baptize their children, and a cemetery beside their church, with a cross erected, and there they bury their dead."[1]

The efforts of the Seminary of the Foreign Missions in the Mississippi had produced little result; the station at Tamarois, or Cahokia, as it was generally called, alone showing any indication of permanent good, a French population having gathered there, numbering forty-seven families in 1715.

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houses and docks below it. The removal was made of both to the present site.

[1] Pénicaut, "Relation" in Margry, v., pp. 486–7.

The Directors of the Seminary at Paris, in hope of giving new life to a mission which had cost life, and toil, and outlay, selected as Superior of their priests in the Valley of the Mississippi, the Rev. Dominic Mary Varlet, a man of energy and ability, who had been ordained for six years, and was in

VERY REV. DOMINIC MARY VARLET, VICAR-GENERAL, AFTERWARDS BISHOP OF BABYLON.

high repute as a priest of virtue and piety. He went to the Tamarois mission by way of Canada. On the 6th of October, 1717, Bishop Saint Vallier, reciting his learning, energy, probity, and other virtues, appointed him Vicar-General, especially for Fort La Mobile or Fort Louis, and the places

and missions near and along the river Mississippi, with jurisdiction over all priests secular or regular, except priests of the Society of Jesus, who were subject to their own Superior. He gave him power to make a visitation, to grant and withdraw faculties, to absolve in reserved cases, and generally exercise in full all powers of Vicar-General.[1] As the V. Rev. Mr. Varlet represented to the Bishop that a considerable time might elapse before he could reach the Tamarois mission, and that meantime the Seminary might be unable to send a successor to the Rev. Mr. Bergier at that place, he therefore solicited a confirmation of the original Letters Patent granted to the Seminary for the Mississippi missions, and especially for that of the Tamarois, for fear that the original might be treated as obsolete, and possession of the mission disputed by clergymen of some other organization. The bishop accordingly renewed his Letters of May 10 and July 14, 1698.[2]

The Very Rev. Mr. Varlet proceeded to his mission, but of his labors in the Mississippi Valley we find no details, though his name appears in a few entries in the Register of Mobile,[3] showing that he visited the country from Cahokia to the gulf. He is said to have spent six years on the mission, and returning to Europe, was appointed in 1718 Bishop of Ascalon, and Coadjutor to the Bishop of Babylon, and after receiving episcopal consecration, set out for the East. Meanwhile evidence had reached Rome, that Mgr. Varlet was an active adherent of the doctrines of Jansenius. The Sovereign Pontiff recalled Mgr. Varlet, now by succession

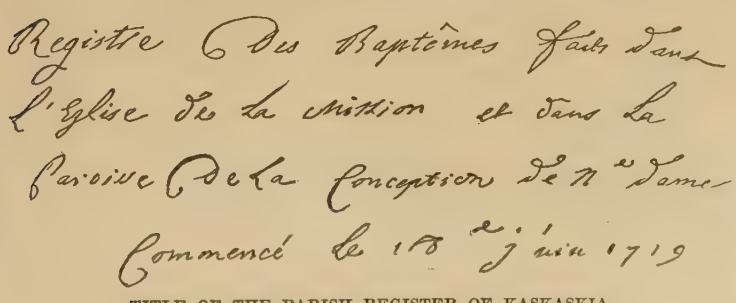
[1] "Archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec," Registre C, p. 112.

[2] Ibid., Registre C, p. 113.

[3] The entries extend from March 2, 1713, to Jan. 13, 1715, his signatures in 1715 being as Vicar-General, which supposes an appointment prior to that of 1717.

Bishop of Babylon, but he withdrew to Utrecht in Holland, where he took an active part in establishing the schismatical Jansenist Church, consecrating four successive pretended archbishops, and died near that city in 1742, at the age of sixty-four, after having been excommunicated by several Popes.

When the Company of the West established Fort Chartres in 1718, a little French settlement soon grew up around it, and near the Indian villages. The missionary of the Kaskaskias was Father John Le Boullenger, who, studying profoundly the language of the Illinois Indians, drew up a Grammar and Dictionary, with a very full Catechism and prayers. The manuscript of what I believe to be his work is still extant in a large folio volume, formerly in the possession of Hon. Henry C. Murphy, now in the Carter Brown Library at Providence. This eminent missionary opens the Register


Registre Des Baptêmes faits dans
l'Eglise de la mission et dans la
Paroisse de la Conception de N^re Dame
Commencé le 18^e juin 1719

TITLE OF THE PARISH REGISTER OF KASKASKIA.

of "the Church of the Mission and Parish of the Conception of Our Lady," on the 17th of June, 1719, styling himself "chaplain of the troops," of which Pierre de Boisbriant, the king's lieutenant, was commander. The next year Father Nicholas Ignatius de Beaubois, S.J., signs as parish priest, as though the parish had been then canonically erected and he installed. Thenceforward the banns of marriage

were regularly published, and all the regulations of Canadian parishes observed.[1]

In 1721 Father P. Francis X. de Charlevoix, S.J., the Historian of New France, made a tour to the Lakes and down the Mississippi. At Cahokia and Tamarois he found Rev. Dominic Anthony Thaumur de la Source and Rev. Mr. Mercier. There were two Kaskaskia missions, one-half a league above Fort Chartres, under the care of Father John Le Boullenger and Father Joseph Francis de Kereben; the other two leagues distant under Father John Charles Guymonneau, who was about this time Superior of the mission.

There was a priest at the Yazoo, in 1723, the Abbé Juif, but at Natchez mass had not been said for five years, and people were joined together merely by a civil marriage. Father Charlevoix heard the confessions of all who chose to avail themselves of his presence.[2] In fact children born at New Orleans and Natchez were baptized at Kaskaskia.[3] But the Jesuit Father de Ville seems to have been sent soon after to Natchez.[4]

The French in the Illinois country were so profligate at this time, and made so light of the reproofs of the missionaries, that Father Gabriel Marest appealed in 1711 to Gov-

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[1] "Registre des Baptêmes faits dans l'Eglise de la Mission et dans la Paroisse de la Conception de N. Dame." I was about to publish Le Boullenger's Dictionary in my Library of American Linguistics, and had begun the printing when the volume was recalled. Another Dictionary, supposed to be the work of Father Gravier, is in the possession of Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, Conn.

[2] Charlevoix, "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," iii., pp. 392–4.

[3] "Registre de la Conception de N. Dame," Mar. 15, Nov. 19, 1720, May 18, 1721.

[4] Le Page du Pratz, "Histoire de la Louisiane," i., p. 130.

ernor Bienville, who sent up a sergeant and twelve men to maintain order. Those who wished to marry Indian wives were encouraged, and many did so, as several had done before at the old town. The Kaskaskias were industrious; the Jesuit Fathers had taught them to use the plough in their fields near Lake Pimiteouy, and when they began to obtain horses from the Caddoes, they raised large fields of grain, which they ground at the three mills in their district. The women made a cloth of bison wool, and wore a waist and petticoat, with a long robe above, the work of their own hands.

The majority of the Illinois were at this time Christians. They had a very large church in their village, with a high altar and two lateral ones, a baptismal font and a bell. They attended mass and vespers regularly, singing the psalms and hymns in their own language; the French when they attended, singing alternate verses in Latin.[1]

The influence of religion can be seen in some pious children brought up in the Illinois country. Mary Turpin, daughter of a Canadian father and an Illinois mother, remarkable for her modesty, piety, and industry, became a nun in the Ursuline Convent, New Orleans, where she died in 1761, at the age of fifty-two. She was certainly the first American-born nun in this country.[2]

Fort Chartres, a log structure near the river, begun by de Boisbriant in 1718 was long the chief French post on the northern Mississippi, though not rebuilt in stone till 1757. It became, too, the centre and seat of government of the Illinois country. The chapel was dedicated to Saint Anne, and as

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[1] Pénicaut, "Relation" in Margry, v., pp. 490–1.

[2] "Lettre Circulaire de sa mort."

settlers selected grounds near the fort, the little village that grew up formed in time the parish of St. Anne.[1]

Another village was formed at Prairie du Rocher five miles from the fort on land granted to Boisbriant. Here a church was dedicated to Saint Joseph, and village and church remain to this day with the old title, although the church and village of Saint Anne de Fort Chartres were in time so invaded by the Mississippi in its floods that they were abandoned, and the inhabitants removed chiefly, it would seem, to Prairie du Rocher.

Two of the chaplains of the Fort, the Abbé Joseph Gagnon, parish priest of Cahokia, and Father Luke Collet, a Recollect, died there, and were buried in the church of Saint Anne, but when that edifice threatened to fall with the crumbling earth into the river, their bodies were piously transferred to the church of Saint Joseph.[2]

The spiritual condition of the Mississippi Valley called forth this year the following pastoral from Bishop Saint Vallier:

"We, John, by the grace of God and of the Holy Apostolic See, Bishop of Quebec, to our most beloved brethren in Jesus Christ, the missionaries of the Society of Jesus, scattered throughout the extent of Micicipi, and to the faithful who are under their guidance, Health and Benediction in Our Lord.

"The reports which reach us from all sides, from France

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[1] The Register beginning August 1, 1743, is still preserved at Prairie du Rocher. I could not obtain access to it, or that of Prairie du Rocher.

[2] The Abbé Gagnon, ordained April 23, 1730, died in July, 1759. Leonard Philibert Collet, who took in religion the name of Luke, was chaplain at the French posts in Pennsylvania, Presquile, and Riviere aux Bœufs. He was born Nov. 3, 1715, and ordained in 1753. Tanguay, "Répertoire Général." Their bodies were removed by Father S. L. Meurin, S.J., in 1768.

as well as from the upper country, of the disregard of religion and purity, in which the French recently come from France, of every kind of condition, live in the vast country which they have come to inhabit along that great river, making us fear that they will draw down upon us the maledictions of God, fulminated against those who will not live Christian lives, and according to their state, instead of the blessings promised in many places of the sacred books to men of good who seek to serve God well, We have resolved to withstand with all our strength the public vices and disorders, which might be calculated to draw down misfortunes upon us. Wherefore to apply most efficacious remedies, we order those, who under our authority have the conduct of souls, to declare to them, that it is our intention to regard as giving public scandal all who in contempt of divine and human laws go so far as to commit scandalous impiety by their words, or by their actions, or by public concubinage, persons who in disregard of all prohibitions intimated to them, persist in frequenting and even dwelling together. We do not desire that these classes of persons be admitted to the church or to the sacraments, but that they should be subjected to public penance, which shall be imposed upon them by our Vicar-General, conformably to the desire of the Holy Council of Trent, which wished public penance imposed on public sinners. Given at Quebec under our hand and that of our Secretary, sealed with the seal of our arms this 19th day of July one thousand seven hundred and twenty-one.

"JOHN, BISHOP OF QUEBEC."[1]

This was apparently the last official act of Bishop Saint Vallier referring directly to the church in the Mississippi

[1] "Archives de l'Archevêché de Québec." Registre C, p. 119.

Valley in which he had taken such interest in his long and eventful administration.[1]

The country of the Illinois having been attached by the French government to Louisiana, negro and Indian slavery was introduced, not without detriment to the moral tone of the community. This connection involved that part of the country in the Indian wars, and the Register of Kaskaskia chronicles requiem masses offered for families and individuals who fell victims to savage fury while descending the Mississippi.[2]

In August, 1717, the Regent Duke of Orleans in the name of Louis XV., issued Letters Patent establishing a joint stock company called the "Company of the West," to which Louisiana was transferred. The fifty-third clause reads as follows: "As in the settlement of the countries granted to the said Company by these Presents, We regard especially the glory of God by procuring the salvation of the inhabitants, Indians, savages and negroes, whom we desire to be instructed in the true religion, the said Company shall be obliged to build at its expense churches at the places where it forms settlements; as also to maintain there the necessary number of approved ecclesiastics; either with the rank of parish priests or such others as shall be suitable, in order to preach the Holy Gospel there, perform Divine service, and

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[1] As we shall see, Bishop Saint Vallier relinquished the care of Louisiana to the coadjutor assigned to him a few years after this date. He died on the 26th of December, 1727, at the age of 64, at the General Hospital of Quebec, which he had founded. Bishop Saint Vallier's charity and love of the poor were extreme, and he is said to have expended on his diocese 200,000 crowns. "Monseigneur de Saint Vallier et l'Hopital Général de Quebec," Quebec, 1882, pp. 1–291. The name is frequently written Saint Valier, but Saint Vallier is evidently the proper form. Ib., p. 709.

[2] Register of Kaskaskia, April 29, 1723, Dec. 18, 1719, June 22, 1722, etc.

administer the sacraments; all under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec, the said colony remaining in his diocese, as heretofore; and the parish priests and other ecclesiastics which the said Company shall maintain there, shall be at his nomination and patronage."[1]

Meanwhile the Report of Father de Charlevoix as to the spiritual destitution of the colony had induced efforts to relieve it. The Commissaries of the Council of the Western Company by an ordinance of May 16, 1722, professed to have been issued by the consent of the Bishop of Quebec, divided Louisiana into three ecclesiastical sections. The part north of the Ohio and corresponding to it on the west of the Mississippi was left in the care of the Society of Jesus and the Seminaries of the Foreign Missions of Quebec and Paris, who had already permanent establishments there.

For the new French settlements on and near the mouth of the Mississippi a different arrangement was made. A coadjutor had been appointed to Bishop Saint Vallier in the person of a Capuchin Father of Meudon, Louis Francis Duplessis de Mornay, who was consecrated Bishop of Eumenia in Phrygia and coadjutor of Quebec, in the church of the Capuchins at Paris on the 22d of April, 1714. This prelate never came to America, although he in time succeeded to the see of Quebec. He remained in France, and as Bishop Saint Vallier appointed him Vicar-General for Louisiana, he assumed the direction of the Church in that province.

When the Company of the West applied to him for priests

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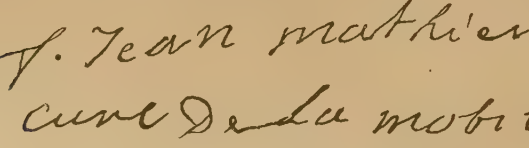
[1] Le Page du Pratz, "Histoire de la Louisiane," i., pp. 77–8. By the "Black Code" (1724), all worship but the Catholic was forbidden. Slaves were to receive religious instruction, but they were not to be married by any clergyman without the permission of the masters; marriage between whites and blacks was severely prohibited, and clergymen secular or regular forbidden to officiate at such unions.

to minister to the settlers in the province, and continue the work among the French and Indians begun by the Jesuit Fathers and the Priests of the Foreign Missions, Bishop de Mornay offered the more populous field to the order of which he was a member, and in 1717 the Capuchin Fathers of the province of Champagne undertook the charge, Royal

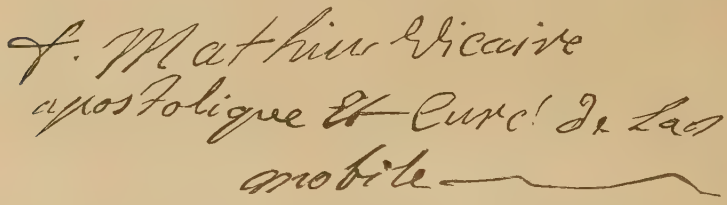


SIGNATURE OF FATHER JOHN MATTHEW.

letters having been obtained in April of that year to authorize their acceptance of the mission.

No immediate steps were taken, however; years passed, and it was not till the commencement of 1721 that any Fathers of the Capuchin order appeared in Louisiana.

The last entry of the secular clergy at Mobile was that of Rev. Alexander Huvé, on the 13th of January, 1721, and



SIGNATURE OF FATHER MATTHEW AS VICAR-APOSTOLIC.

with him ceased the work of the priests of the Seminary. On the 18th the Capuchin Father, John Matthew, signs as Parish Priest of Mobile.[1] As these Fathers came directly from France, and had no personal relations with the Bishop of Quebec, they found applications to him long and tedious.

[1] Register of Mobile, Jan. 18, 1721.

Father John Matthew was evidently the Norman Capuchin who applied to Rome for special powers for fifteen missions under his charge, representing that the great distance at which he was from the Bishop of Quebec made it impracticable to apply when necessary.[1] A brief was really issued, and Father John Matthew construed the powers it conferred so liberally as to assume that it exempted him from episcopal jurisdiction, and made him a Vicar-Apostolic, for he signs himself from January 9, 1722, to March 14, 1723, F. Matthew, Vicar-Apostolic and Parish Priest of Mobile.

New Orleans was commenced by Bienville in 1718, and a plan for the new city was laid out by La Tour, the engineer. It was a rectangle, eleven squares along the river, and five in depth. In the centre on the river a square was reserved as the "Place d'Armes," and the square behind it on the Rue de Chartres was reserved for the parish church. But when Father Charlevoix arrived there in January, 1722, the city consisted of about a hundred temporary sheds; there were only two or three fairly built houses. No chapel had yet been erected; half of a wretched warehouse had at first been assigned for the chapel, but he says though "they had kindly consented to lend it to the Lord, he had scarcely taken possession, when he was requested to withdraw, and seek shelter under a tent." Yet some rude structure was soon put up, for the hurricane of September 12, 1722, which prostrated thirty log-huts or houses, demolished also the church.[2] This first church is said to have been dedicated to Saint Ignatius, and to have been attended by a Capuchin Father Anthony.

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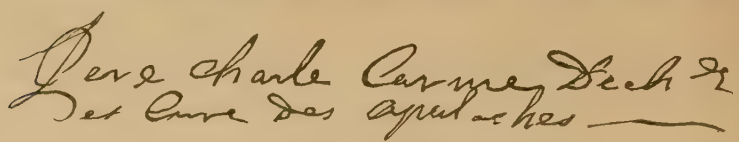
[1] Michael a Tugio, "Bullarium Ord. FF. Minor. S.P. Francisci Capucinorum." Fol. 1740–52; vii., pp. 322–3.

[2] Charlevoix, "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," ii., pp. 434, 458; iii., p. 430. Shea's Translation, vi., pp. 40, 69.

In 1724 or '5 a brick church was at last erected, which stood for about sixty years.[1]

The Company by its ordinance of 1722 assigned the district between the Mississippi and the Rio Perdido, with the country northward to the Ohio, to the Discalced Carmelite Fathers, who were to have their chief station at Mobile. This order never seems to have entered on the field heartily, although one member, Father Charles, acted for a time as missionary to the Apalaches.[2] It is asserted that the Bishop of Quebec, dissatisfied with their inaction, assigned their dis-



SIGNATURE OF THE CARMELITE FATHER CHARLES.

trict also to the Capuchins by an ordinance of December 19, 1722.

A memoir favorable to the Capuchins says: "But the Capuchins had more zeal than subjects to send to the mission. The province of Champagne, from which those of Louisiana came, is small and sterile in members. The Company accordingly seeing that they did not furnish as many priests as were necessary to fill the ecclesiastical posts of their district, and knowing, moreover, that they were unfitted for Indian missions, deemed it absolutely necessary to make a new division, which would suit the character and the particular talents of the two orders, and give them henceforward an invariable state. It resolved to place Capuchins in all the French posts, and to entrust the spiritual direction of

[1] Loewenstein, "History of the St. Louis Cathedral of New Orleans," p. 16. I do not know where he obtained authority for these statements.

[2] Register of Mobile, Apl. 18–25, 1721.

the Indians to the Jesuits, during the pleasure of the Bishop of Quebec, who in his letters highly approved this arrangement." [1]

Meanwhile the exclusive district of the Jesuits and Seminary priests had been extended down to Natchez. The Fathers of the Society of Jesus were thus left to establish Indian missions in all parts of Louisiana, with a residence at New Orleans, but were not to exercise any ecclesiastical functions there without the consent of the Capuchins, and to minister to the French in their Illinois district with the Priests of the Foreign Missions, where the Superior of each body was Vicar-General, as the Capuchin Superior was at New Orleans.

The Company on the 27th of June, 1725, issued a formal diploma to the Capuchins, which was approved by the king at Chantilly, July 15, in the same year.[2]

As the colony increased, churches were erected at Mobile, New Orleans, and other settlements. A few years later the Capuchins in Louisiana had charge of New Orleans, which had now become the most important place, and contained a flock of six hundred Catholic families; Mobile had declined to merely sixty families; the Apalache Indians numbering thirty families; six at Balize, two hundred at Les Allemands, one hundred at Pointe Coupée, six at Natchez,

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[1] "Memoire concernant l'Eglise de la Louisiane (1722–1728) du 21 Novembre, 1728," in Gravier, "Relation du Voyage des Dames Religieuses Ursulines," Paris, 1872, p. 113. This "Memoire" is unsigned, and contains evident errors, so that its authority cannot be considered great. No ordinance of Bp. Saint Vallier on the matter exists at Quebec, and the whole affair seems to have been managed by Bp. de Mornay. The first Capuchins certainly took possession at Mobile in 1721, one as Curé or parish priest, and no Carmelite appears as parish priest.

[2] Michael a Tugio, "Bullarium Ord. FF. Minor. S.P. Francisci Capucinorum," 1740–52, vii., pp. 328–9.

and fifty at Natchitoches, besides three other missions which are not named, comprised the whole.[1]

The founder of the Jesuit mission in Louisiana was Father Nicholas Ignatius de Beaubois, born at Orleans, October 15, 1689, who entered the Society just after completing his seventeenth year. He was, as we have seen, on the Illinois mission in 1720, when he was selected to establish the new and difficult work assigned to his order,[2] and was appointed Vicar-General. After visiting Louisiana he returned to France to obtain Fathers of the Society for the missions to be established, and also to obtain Sisters of some order who

SIGNATURE OF FATHER DE BEAUBOIS.

would be brave enough to cross the ocean to assume the charge of an hospital and open an academy. He applied with the consent of Bishop Saint Vallier to the Ursulines of Rouen. Those devout ladies accepted the call to the distant field of labor, but at the end of a year little progress was made, so many difficulties were raised by one and another. In one case it was even necessary to obtain the authority of Cardinal Fleury. The Royal Patent authorizing the Ursulines to found a convent in Louisiana was issued September 18, 1726.[3]

The Company of the West agreed to maintain six nuns, to pay their passage and that of four servants. Two sisters

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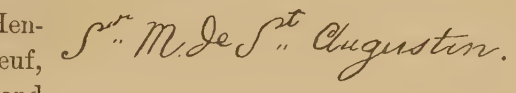
[1] "Bullarium Capucinorum," vii., p. 330. Two Capuchin Fathers arrived on the "Venus" in 1722. Dumont, "Memoires," ii., p. 82.

[2] F. Felix Martin, Liste in Carayon, "Bannissement," pp. 120, 126.

[3] "Brevet en faveur des Religieuses Ursulines de la Louisiane"; Tranchepain, "Relation du Voyage," p. 61.

were to have the care of the sick, one to be ready to replace either of them in case of necessity; a fourth was to manage the domestic affairs of the hospital, and one was to conduct a free school for the poor.

At last on the 12th of January, 1727, Mother Mary Tranchepain of Saint Augustine, with seven professed nuns from Rouen, Havres, Vannes, Ploermel, Hennebon, and Elbœuf, with a novice and two seculars, met at the infirmary of the Ursulines at Hennebon, ready to embark for Louisiana. They set sail on the 22d of the ensuing month, accompanied by Fathers Tartarin and Doutreleau. After a long and tedious voyage, stopping at Madeira for provisions, they reached Louisiana, and in boats slowly made their way to New Orleans, and on the 6th of August, Mother Tranchepain reached that city to begin the first convent of religious women within the present limits of the Republic. Father de Beaubois received the Sisters, and escorted them to their temporary home, where the Ursuline Convent of New Orleans was founded August 7, 1727, to begin the work of education and charity, which has been continued under five different national flags in its existence of more than a century and a half.



SIGNATURE OF MOTHER DE TRANCHEPAIN.

The building hired for them was to be occupied till their convent and hospital were completed. It was small and inconvenient, and stood in the square now bounded by Bienville, Douane, Decatur, and Chartres Streets, in the southwest of the city. The six months in which the new buildings were promised, and as many years, passed before the convent was ready to receive them, one of the professed nuns

dying before the wished-for day.[1] It is even stated that the nuns occupied for a time a second convent on a short street opening on the levee, and still called "Nun Street," as a neighboring one is "Religious Street."[2]

At last on the 17th of July, 1734, a procession issued from the temporary convent, twenty young girls, attired as angels, one to represent Saint Ursula, eleven to portray her host of martyred disciples. The scholars and orphans followed, then came the Jesuit Fathers, de Beaubois and Petit, and the Capuchin Father Philip bearing the Blessed Sacrament under a canopy. Behind it came the nineteen Ursuline nuns in their choir-mantles, veiled, each carrying a lighted taper. Governor Bienville, with the Intendant and officers, followed, and then the citizens, the procession being flanked on either side by the military force of the colony, the drums and instruments blending their sounds with the religious chants as they moved along. At the parish church Father Petit delivered a sermon on the importance of Christian education. Then after receiving the benediction of the Blessed Sacrament the procession moved to the convent, the bells of which rang out a welcome as it approached.

The cloister was then established, and the Ursuline Community began its labors. The buildings, in spite of the time taken to erect them, and the money ostensibly expended, were by no means adequate to the wants of the community,

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[1] Tranchepain, "Relation du Voyage des premieres Ursulines," New York, 1859. Gravier, "Relation du Voyage des Dames Religieuses Ursulines de Rouen à la Nouvelle Orleans." This work gives letters of Marie Hacherd, a novice, to her father, and embodies the account of Mother Tranchepain.

[2] "Ursulines of New Orleans," New Orleans, 1886. One of the nuns, Marianne Boullenger de Ste. Angélique, was a sister of the Jesuit Father of the same name in Illinois.

who were compelled at once to begin another structure for their day-school. By prudence and patience the Ursulines at last had hospital and schools on a solid basis, but they were grieved to see the people so indifferent to the educational advantages their academy afforded. The hospital under their management gave such general satisfaction that it was resorted to by all. The daughters of the better class were educated in their academy, many in time marrying French

URSULINE CONVENT, NEW ORLEANS, BEGUN IN 1727, NOW RESIDENCE OF THE ARCHBISHOP.

and Spanish officials of rank, and doing honor in other lands to their training by the exhibition of Christian graces.

The Ursuline Convent thus erected still stands, and is the oldest building in the city of New Orleans, as it is the oldest conventual structure in the United States. Occupied for some years past as the residence of the Archbishop, it has not lost its religious character. It stands on Ursuline Street, near Condé.

As we have seen by the arrangement of the trading Company, the highly educated Jesuits were confined to the Indian field, and were not allowed to exercise the ministry among the settlers of Louisiana, who were assigned to a less cultured body.

The first Father who arrived to take part in the Louisiana missions was the Canadian Michael Baudouin, followed in 1726 by Fathers Mathurin le Petit, Paul du Poisson, John Souel, Alexis de Guyenne, and John Dumas. The next year, as we have seen, Fathers Tartarin and Doutreleau arrived on the "Gironde" with the Ursulines.

Father Dumas went up to the Illinois missions; Father du Poisson was sent to the Arkansas, who had received no instruction since Rev. Nicholas Foucault's death; Father de Guyenne undertook to plant a mission among the Alibamons, and Father le Petit among the Choctaws.

A chaplain had been sent out by Law to attend the settlers whom he planted on his grant upon the Arkansas, but this clergyman died just as the vessel reached the mouth of the Mississippi, and Father du Poisson found not only Indians but French settlers who required his services. He began to study the language of the Arkansas Indians in order to instruct them, and Father Souel, though often prostrated by disease, was equally diligent among the Yazoos,[1] the neighboring French post having been in 1723 attended by the Abbé Juif, who had served as chaplain in the French army, and who in a terrible drought induced his people at the Yazoo to make a general fast and attend the Forty Hours Devotion to obtain rain from heaven.[2]

In 1728 the Capuchins were thus distributed: V. Rev.

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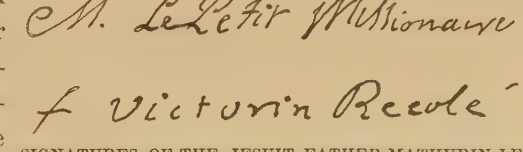
[1] Letter of Father Du Poisson, "Lettres Edifiantes" (Kip, pp. 231–257).

[2] Dumont, "Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane," i., pp. 164, 174.

Father Raphael, Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec, and parish priest of New Orleans, with Father Hyacinth vicar, and Father Cecilius, schoolmaster, were at the capital; Father Theodore at Chapitoulas; Father Philip at Les Allemands; Father Gaspar at Balize; Father Mathias at Mobile; with Father Victorin Dupui, a Recollect, as parish priest of the Apalaches; Father Maximin at Natchitoches, and Father Philibert at Natchez, described by Father le Petit as a worthy, zealous priest. While the Jesuits, whose Superior, Father de Beaubois, had been recalled, awaited the arrival at New Orleans of the newly appointed Superior, Father Mathurin le Petit, from his mission among the Choctaws, Father du Poisson was among the Arkansas Indians; Fathers Tartarin and le Boullenger at Kaskaskia; Father Guymonneau among the Metchigameas; Father Doutreleau on the Ouabache; Father Souel among the Yazoos; and Father Baudouin attempting the dangerous task of establishing a mission among the treacherous Chickasaws.



SIGNATURES OF THE JESUIT FATHER MATHURIN LE PETIT, AND THE RECOLLECT FATHER VICTORIN.

These Indian missions were, however, nearly broken up in 1729 by the Natchez. Provoked by the tyranny and rapacity of Chopart, the French commandant, that tribe rose against the French and massacred all they met. Father du Poisson, on his way to New Orleans to explain to Governor Perrier the wants of his mission, reached Natchez on the 26th of November, and finding the Capuchin Father absent, remained at the request of the people to officiate for them on the following day, the first Sunday of Advent. He also

attended the sick, and on Monday, after offering the Holy Sacrifice, was carrying the Blessed Sacrament to some sick persons, when the signal for the massacre was given. A gigantic chief sprang upon the unsuspecting priest, hurled him to the ground, and by repeated blows of his tomahawk severed his head from his body. The only words the missionary could utter were: "Ah! my God! ah! my God!" An officer who tried to save him was shot down. In a few moments every Frenchman but two was slain, and most of the women; the rest were reduced to a wretched slavery.

The Yazoos, drawn into a general conspiracy against the French by the Natchez, lay in wait for Father Souel on the 11th of December, as he returned from a visit to the chief. As the Jesuit Father entered a ravine, he fell dead, riddled by a volley of musket-balls. One of the murderers arrayed himself in the missionary's clothes, and hastened to the Natchez, to show that the Yazoos had fulfilled their pledge. The rest plundered the house of Father Souel, and the next day surprised and murdered the garrison of the French post.

Father Doutreleau had set out from Illinois for Father Souel's station, but landed on the river-side on New-Year's Day, 1730, to say mass. He had set up his altar, and was about to begin the mass, when some Yazoos landed near the party. The French boatmen of the missionary were ignorant of the Indian outbreak, and allowed the Yazoos to kneel down behind them. The mass began, and as the priest uttered the "Kyrie Eleison," the Indians fired a volley, wounding Father Doutreleau, and killing one of his boatmen. The others fled, and Father Doutreleau knelt to receive the final blow; but when the Indians firing wildly missed him again and again, he followed his boatmen, vested as he was. He reached the boat by wading, and though as he climbed in he received a discharge of shot in the mouth, he took the rud-

der, and the boatmen plying their paddles with superhuman energy, soon left their murderous assailants far behind. Father Doutreleau reached New Orleans safely, and there his wounds were treated.[1]

A naval officer of this period, who must be regarded as impartial, draws this picture of these missionaries of the Mississippi Valley: "I cannot help doing the justice due the Jesuit Fathers in regard to their missions. Nothing is more edifying for religion than their conduct, and the unwearied zeal with which they labor for the conversion of these nations. Picture to yourself a Jesuit four hundred leagues away in the woods, with no conveniences, no provisions, and most frequently with no resource but the liberality of people who know not God, compelled to live like them, to pass whole years without receiving any tidings, with savages who have only the countenance of human beings, among whom, instead of finding society or relief in sickness, he is daily exposed to perish and be massacred. This is done daily by these Fathers in Louisiana and Canada."[2]

The French authorities immediately prepared to punish the Natchez, and arrayed all the tribes under their influence against that tribe and the Chickasaws, who espoused their cause. The Indian nations on the Mississippi were all involved in the war, and mission work for the time was necessarily suspended.

When the Natchez were finally overthrown, Father de Guyenne, and subsequently Father Carette, continued Father

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[1] Father le Petit in "Lettres Edifiantes" (in Kip, pp. 267, etc.). Dumont, "Memoires Historiques," ii., pp. 144, 163. Le Page du Pratz, "Histoire de la Louisiane," iii., pp. 257, 263.

[2] "Relation de la Louisiane ou Mississippi," Amsterdam, 1734, p. 25; "Memoire sur la Louisiane, ou le Mississippi," in Recueil B., Luxembourg, 1752, p. 144.

du Poisson's labors among the Arkansas. The missionary, Carette, learned the language of his flock, and underwent great hardships in his efforts to instruct them; but his efforts were neutralized by the corrupt French at the post. At the fort there was no chapel, and no place where he could offer the holy sacrifice but a room open to all, even to the poultry, so that a hen once flew on the altar just as he concluded the mass. Even this did not induce those in authority to erect a suitable chapel. His remonstrance only led really to further derision and mockery of religion.[1]

Hopeless of effecting any good, Father Carette withdrew till such time as a suitable chapel was prepared.[2]

Bishop de Mornay succeeded to the see of Quebec on the death of Bishop Saint Vallier in 1727, but though he held the see till his own resignation five years later, there is no trace of any action on his part in regard to the province which was his especial care.

On the recall of the Abbé Varlet, the Seminary of the Foreign Missions sent to the Tamarois mission two young priests, Rev. Thaumur de la Source and Rev. Mr. Mercier, the expenses of the voyage and outfit amounting to 6,641 livres. To give permanence to their religious work, these two clergymen obtained from Dugué de Boisbriant, the Commandant, and Mark Anthony de la Loere des Ursins, Commis-

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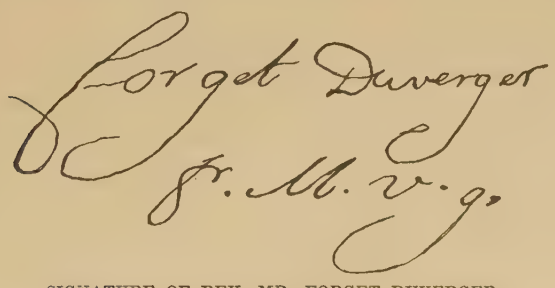
[1] A curious relic of the Jesuit missions at the South is preserved in Timberlake's "Memoirs," London, 1765, p. 96. It is described on the title-page as "A Curious Secret Journal taken by the Indians out of the pocket of a Frenchman they had killed"; but was really taken from a French Indian. It is simply one of the sheet almanacs commonly given in missions with the Sundays, Holidays, Fast and Abstinence days marked by signs, so that Indians when off hunting can keep up with the calendar!

[2] "Bannissement des Jésuites de la Louisiane," p. 19; Father Watrin to the Propaganda.

saire, a tract four leagues square, a quarter of a league above the little river Cahokia, which was conceded in legal form to the Seminary of Quebec.[1]

This land was nearly all granted out to settlers, and a prosperous little community grew up, mills and other works of general use being established by the Seminary priests.

After ten years' service, the Rev. Thaumur de la Source returned to Canada in 1728, and the Rev. Joseph Courrier and the Rev. Mr. Gaston, ordained in 1730, were sent from Quebec. The Rev. Mr. Gaston was killed by Indians soon after reaching Tamarois; Rev. Mr. Courrier labored at his post for several years, regarded as a man of extraordinary



SIGNATURE OF REV. MR. FORGET DUVERGER.

sanctity. Broken by disease, he went to New Orleans to obtain medical treatment, and died among the Capuchins in the autumn of 1735.[2]

The Abbé Mercier was again left almost alone, and saw most of his buildings destroyed by fire. His associate, the Rev. Mr. Gagnon, sinking under age and infirmities, wished to return to Canada, but was too devoted to depart before

[1] "Extrait des Régistres du Conseil Provincial des Illinois"; La Tour, "Memoire sur la Vie de M. de Laval," p. 101.

[2] Laval, "Memoires sur la Vie de M. Laval," Cologne, 1761, p. 101. Cardinal Taschereau, "Memoire."

other priests came. In 1739 the Abbé Laurens, a priest of Chartres, in France, was sent out, the Seminary expending on his outfit and improvements of the parish no less than 25,000 livres. Like his predecessors he attended not only the parish of the Holy Family at Tamarois or Cahokia, but that of Saint Anne at Fort Chartres.[1] In 1754 the last priest was sent by the Seminary. He was the Rev. Francis Forget Duverger, and attended only the parish of the Holy Family.

The French post at Ouiatenon on the Wabash was followed up about 1735 by the establishment, under the authority of Louisiana, of another post destined to enjoy a permanent existence. This was soon afterward known as Poste Vincennes. A few settlers clustered around these posts, and priests ere long set up a temporary altar for these early backwoodsmen. The earliest whose name is recorded is the Recollect Father, Pacôme Legrand, who, after a term of service at Vincennes, died while returning to Niagara on the 6th of October, 1742.[2] It is by no means improbable that it was he who baptized at Fort Ouiatenon, on the 22d of July in the preceding year, Anthony, son of John Baptist Foucher, who became in time the first priest ordained from the West.[3]

Vincennes grew slowly on, and its regular parish records began. On the 21st of April, 1749, a marriage entry of Julian Trottier des Rivières and Josette Marié begins the records of the church. The Jesuit Father, Sebastian Louis Meurin, destined to be the last survivor of his order in the West, discharged the duties of parish priest at the post, and

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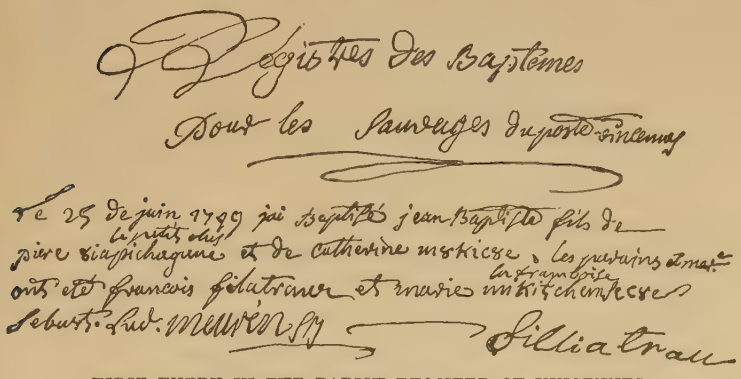
[1] The Abbé Laurens died in 1758 or the following year. The food of the country never agreed with him, and he was a great sufferer.

[2] Tanguay, "Repertoire Général," p. 78.

[3] He was ordained October 30, 1774, and died in 1812 at Lachenaie, Canada, of which he was parish priest, as he had been at St. Henri de Mascouche, and Sainte Anne de La Pocatière. Ib., p. 126.

proclaimed the banns in the usual form. The settlers came from the Canadian parishes, and not a few from Ouiatenon and Detroit, which were under the Canadian government.

In 1752 Father Peter du Jaunay records a baptism at



FIRST ENTRY IN THE PARISH REGISTER OF VINCENNES.

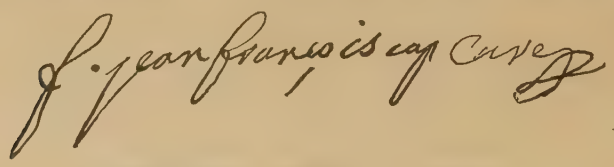
Ouiatenon. The next year Father Louis Vivier, who in 1750 contributed a letter from Illinois to the "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses," began a three years' pastoral charge at Vincennes, succeeded in November, 1756, by Father Julian Devernai.[1]

Of the state of religion in the French settlements of Louisiana for some years, there are in fact no documents to guide the historian. The Capuchin Fathers seem to have discharged their functions quietly, as we rarely find any allusion to them in the official dispatches or in the writings of men like Le Page du Pratz, Dumont, Pénicaut, Bénard de la Harpe, writers who took an active part

SIGNATURE OF FATHER VIVIER.

[1] "Registre de la Paroisse de St. François Xavier au Poste Vincennes."

in the affairs of the colony. Religion certainly did not gain; vice increased unchecked; no public institutions, religious or charitable, were established, that show a community imbued with faith. One of the Capuchin Fathers who labored longest on the mission was Father John Francis, who was at Pointe Coupée in 1737 and was parish priest of Mobile, with little interruption from 1736 to 1755. Father Mathias de Sedan was parish priest from 1726 to 1736, and was Superior and Vicar-General from 1734; Father Anselm de Langres



SIGNATURE OF FATHER JOHN FRANCIS.

in 1738 erected the oratory of St. Francis at Pointe Coupée, dedicated it on the 16th of March, and blessed the bells on Holy Saturday.

The Recollect Father, Victorin, was for some years in Louisiana, and his name appears at Mobile from 1728 to 1735; and a secular priest, Rev. Mr. Didier, was at Pointe Coupée in 1756, but they are solitary cases, the parishes generally being directed by the Capuchin Fathers, who numbered from ten to fifteen.

The Jesuit Fathers at New Orleans had no parochial duties,[1] but directed the Ursulines from the foundation of the

[1] A "Memoire" in Gravier, "Relation du Voyage," says that Father de Beaubois, after becoming Vicar-General, "made himself superior of the Ursuline community and seized all authority there," p. 116. Sister Hachard's Letters and Mother Tranchepain's "Narrative," as well as the account of her death, show on the contrary that he brought the community out, and was their Superior and Director exclusively. "If we had the misfortune to lose him either by illness or otherwise," wrote Sister Hachard, "we should be deeply afflicted and greatly to be pitied."

convent, and beyond that, had charge merely of their private chapel and a plantation where they introduced the orange-tree and the sugar-cane. Father de Beaubois remained at New Orleans, assisted from time to time by Father Peter Vitry and others. From some cause Father de Beaubois was interdicted, and that year the foundress of the Ursulines was prostrated by a fatal illness on St. Ursula's day, 1733. After suffering for eighteen days, she asked to receive Extreme Unction, which the Capuchin Father Raphael, Vicar-General of the Bishop, permitted Father Beaubois to administer, to the great consolation of the dying religious. Fortified by all the sacraments, she expired on the 11th of November, 1733, "after having given evidence of all the virtues that could be desired in a worthy and perfect Superior."

She was born of a Protestant family at Rouen, and was strongly attached to her family and home, where she was a favorite. The truth of the Catholic faith became so clear to her, however, that she presented herself at the Ursuline Convent to receive instruction, and there made her abjuration. Edified by all she saw in the religious, she soon after solicited admission and became a novice in 1699. From the first she was filled with the idea of founding a convent in America, and according to the circular on her death, was enlightened supernaturally as to the plan of Father Beaubois. That religious, learning of her desire to aid the missions by her services, wrote to her, and it was through the energy, address, and tact of Mother Mary Tranchepain of Saint Augustine that the difficulties raised against the project were finally overcome. The long voyage and the trials attending the establishment of the convent at New Orleans, brought out all her admirable qualities, and added to her merit. The injustice done to her director, Father de Beaubois, was not the least of the crosses she was called upon to bear.

She established her convent, her community directing the hospital for the sick, an academy for young ladies, a poor-school, an orphan asylum, and catechism for negroes, old and young. She found the greatest ignorance among the white girls born in the country, and the instruction of the future mothers in the colony in their religion was one of the duties of the Ursulines.

When the Natchez massacre filled the province with orphan girls, these nuns opened their doors to them.[1]

In time the Bishop of Quebec appointed Father de Beaubois his Vicar-General in Louisiana, but the Capuchin Fathers refused to recognize his authority. They claimed that under the agreement with the Company the Bishop of Quebec had in perpetuity made the Superior of the Capuchins his Vicar-General, and could appoint no other. The colony was divided into two parties, and a disedifying struggle ensued. The Capuchins succeeded in inducing Bishop Mornay to suspend Father de Beaubois, and to ask the Provincial of the Jesuits to recall him to France.

But subsequent Bishops of Quebec, finding it impossible to exercise any control over the Capuchins in Louisiana through their Superior, to maintain discipline or to carry out the rules of the diocese, constantly insisted on confiding the office of Vicar-General to some member of the Society of Jesus, there being no other regulars, and no secular priests at New Orleans. They could not as bishops admit that the assent of Bishop de Mornay, a coadjutor, and Vicar-General, to an agreement between a trading company and a religious order, deprived every Bishop of Quebec of the right to act as freely in Louisiana as in any other part of his diocese.[2]

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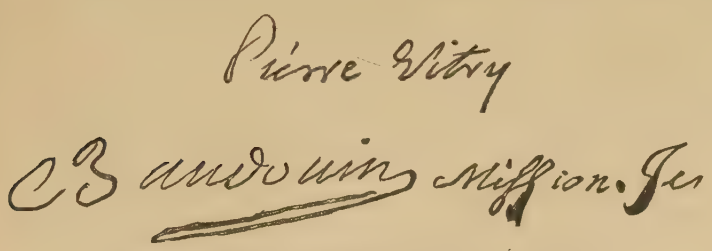
[1] "Lettre Circulaire" in "Relation du Voyage," pp. 54–60. Gravier, "Relation du Voyage," pp. 85, 97, 122.

[2] Letters of Bp. Briand, June, 1767, April 26, 1769.

In the year 1739 the Right Rev. Henry Mary Du Breuil de Pontbriand, Bishop of Quebec, deemed it proper for the interest of religion to appoint Father Peter Vitry of the Society of Jesus his Vicar-General for Louisiana, and successor to Father Mathias, the Capuchin, who had held that office, and his Letters to that effect were duly registered by the Superior Council of the Province. Even then Father Hilary posted up a document in which he assailed the Council so violently that they insisted on his returning to France.

When all became quiet Father Vitry acted as Vicar-General till his death in 1750. When the Bishop of Quebec,



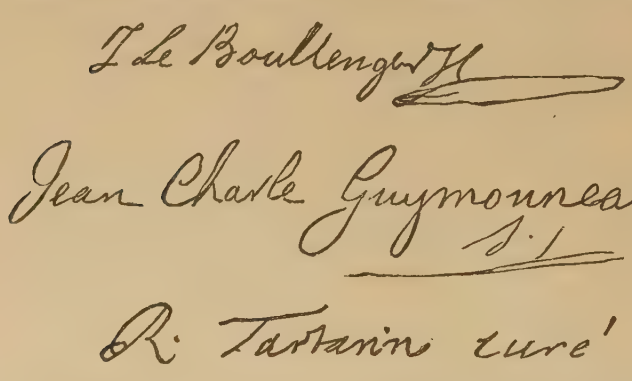
SIGNATURES OF FATHERS BAUDOUIN AND VITRY.

April 29, 1757, appointed the Jesuit Father, Michael Baudouin, his Vicar-General, the Capuchin Fathers protested, and again maintained that their Superior by the treaty with the Company of the West was entitled to the appointment.[1] The Fathers of the Society wished to yield the point, but Mgr. Pontbriand insisted. The matter was argued before the Superior Council of Louisiana, which finally registered the

[1] Bishop de Pontbriand's powers to Father Baudouin were most explicit. They recite that he had, from the commencement of his administration, made the Superior General of the Jesuits his Vicar-General in all parts of Louisiana, and specifically gives Father Baudouin full powers over all priests, whether of the Society of Jesus or Order of St. Francis, to give or withhold faculties at his discretion. The Letter of Appointment is in the archives of the Archbishop of Quebec, C. 224.

appointment, and recognized Father Baudouin as Vicar-General.[1]

Father Baudouin had been for eighteen years on the Choctaw mission, aided for a time by Father Lefevre. If his labors did not convert the tribe, he, at least, retained their friendship for the French, whom they could annihilate in a day if they had turned against them. Father William Francis Morand, who arrived in 1735, took charge of the Alibamon mission for several years, but was recalled to New Orleans to



SIGNATURES OF FATHERS LE BOULLENGER, GUYMONNEAU, AND TARTARIN.

succeed Father Doutreleau as chaplain of the Ursulines and their hospital.[2] Father Le Roy, another missionary among the Alibamons, when he denounced the sale of liquor to the Indians, which led to drunkenness and crime of every kind, was forced to leave by the French officer at Fort Toulouse, Montbéraut, whom Bossu describes as "an avowed enemy of

[1] Father Baudouin laid the matter before the Propaganda in 1759, but no decision was reached.

[2] "Bannissement des Jésuites de la Louisiane," pp. 30–1; Vivier in "Lettres Edifiantes," Kip, p. 316; Bossu, "Nouveaux Voyages," ii., p. 99.

those missionaries."[1] This mission was probably near the present town of Cahaba, where old French works were visible a few years ago.[2]

The missions in Illinois went quietly on, seldom marked by any event requiring special notice. The older missionaries had dropped away, Father Gabriel Marest dying in September, 1715, and Father John Mermet in 1718. Their bodies were transferred by Father Le Boullenger to the church at Kaskaskia, on the 18th of December, 1727.[3] The Jesuit Fathers, Dumas and Tartarin, were laboring there in the following years. When the massacre at Natchez involved the Valley of the Mississippi in Indian wars an expedition of French and Illinois was sent against the Chickasaws in 1736, and Father Antoninus Senat, S.J., accompanied the force as chaplain. After some success, the French corps, which was to co-operate with another from the South, was attacked by the whole Chickasaw army. Vincennes the commander, d'Artaguiette, Father Senat, and others were taken, though the missionary might readily have escaped. He would not, however, abandon those who needed his ministry, and was burned at the stake on Palm Sunday, 1736,[4] most probably in Lee County, Mississippi.[5]

In 1750 Fathers Guyenne, Vivier, Watrin, and Meurin were on the mission in Illinois,[6] where all but the second re-

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[1] Bossu, ii., p 16; Father Watrin to the Propaganda.

[2] Brewer, "Alabama," Montgomery, 1872, p. 209. I find nothing to fix the exact position of the Choctaw mission, but it was apparently near the French fort Tombecbe, at Jones' Bluff, in Sumter County, Ala. Ib., p. 526.

[3] Register of Kaskaskia.

[4] "Bannissement des Jésuites," p. 24; Dumont, "Mémoires Historiques," ii., p. 229.

[5] Claiborne, "Mississippi," Jackson, 1880, p. 62.

[6] F. Vivier in "Lettres Edifiantes" (Kip, p. 316).

mained for several years. Two years later the Weas and Piankeshaws, two Miami tribes, won by the English, plotted the destruction of the five French settlements in Illinois. The conspiracy was discovered before Christmas day, the time fixed for its execution. The French officers of Fort Chartres had their men ready and suddenly attacked the Miamis. Some took refuge in the house of the Jesuit Fathers, and held out, but were finally taken. The French in Illinois were thus exposed to the dangers of Indian war, and a general order was given that settlers coming to mass should bring their firearms, and as these were stacked outside, a sentinel was appointed to keep guard.[1]

Meanwhile some of the French in Illinois, allured by the fertile lands west of the Mississippi, began about 1735 the settlement of Saiute Genevieve, and to them also the Jesuit Fathers ministered.

The little settlement there in time had its church, and its register begins on the 24th of February, 1760, with a baptism performed by Father P. F. Watrin, S.J. Fathers Salleneuve and La Morinie, driven by war from their own missions, subsequently officiated at this church.[2]

In 1763 there were seven little French villages in Illinois, three under the spiritual care of the Jesuits, and four directed by the Seminary priests. The Jesuit Fathers still attended the five villages of the Kaskaskias, Metchigameas, Cahokias, and Peorias; the last tribe had obstinately rejected their teaching; the Cahokias reluctantly yielded for a time, but abandoned the faith, as did the Metchigameas. The Kaskaskias persevered, and Father Watrin ascribes their persever-

[1] Bossu, "Nouveaux Voyages," i., pp. 132, 133.

[2] Rozier, "Address at the 150th Celebration of the Founding of Saint Genevieve," St. Louis, 1885, pp. 10, 11.

ance to the zeal and courage of Father Guyenne, who died in 1762.[1]

Meanwhile the Parlements in several provinces of France, beginning with that of Paris in 1761, had condemned the Jesuits, and measures were taken for their suppression throughout the kingdom. Imitating their example the Superior Council of Louisiana, in 1763, resolved to act, and on the 9th of June, this insignificant body of provincial officers, assuming to decide in matters ecclesiastical of which they were profoundly ignorant, issued a decree. In this extraordinary document, these men pretending to be Catholics condemned the Institute of the Society of Jesus, which had been approved by several Popes, and by the General Council of Trent. They declared the Institute to be dangerous to the royal authority, to the rights of bishops, to the public peace and safety, and they consequently declared the vows taken in the order to be null and void. Members of the Society were forbidden to use its name or habit. It then ordered all their property except the personal books and clothing of each one to be seized and sold at auction. The vestments and plate of the chapel at New Orleans were to be given to the Capuchin Fathers. Although the Illinois country had been ceded to the King of England, and was no longer subject to France or Louisiana, they ordered the vestments and plate there to be delivered to the king's attorney. The most monstrous part of the order was, that the chapels attended by Fathers of the Society in Louisiana and Illinois, many being the only places where Catholics, white and Indian, could worship God, were ordered by these men to be levelled to the ground, leaving the faithful destitute of priest and altar.

[1] Father Watrin to the Propaganda.

Every Jesuit Father and Brother was then to be sent to France on the first vessels ready to sail, a sum of about $420 being allowed to each one for his passage and six months' subsistence. Each one was ordered to present himself to the Duke de Choiseul in France.[1]

As though convinced that more definite grounds should be stated for their action, the council added three motives for their action, charging the Jesuits with having neglected their missions, developed their plantation, and usurped the office of Vicar-General. To the first charge the record of their labors was a sufficient answer: to the last the decision of the Superior Council itself in the matter of the office refuted the charge made; and at all events only one Father was Vicar-General, and others could not be punished for his act. That the Jesuits had made their plantation so productive as to maintain their missionaries was creditable, and could not be punished by any law.

But the unjust decree was carried out. The Jesuits were arrested, their property sold, their chapel at New Orleans demolished, leaving the vaults of the dead exposed. It was one of the most horrible profanations committed on this soil by men pretending to be Catholics. Of these enemies of religion, the name of de la Freniere alone has come down to us: and to the eye of faith his tragic fate in less than six years seems a divine retribution.[2]

Father Carette was sent to Saint Domingo; Father le Roy reached Mexico by way of Pensacola; the aged Father Baudouin, broken by labors and illness, a man of seventy-two, was about to be dragged to a ship, when men of position in-

[1] I have sought in vain the Records of this Superior Council to obtain the exact text of this anti-Catholic and anti-Christian decree; but the proceedings have apparently perished.

[2] He was executed at New Orleans, charged with conspiracy against the very royal power he pretended to uphold.

terfered and arrested the brutality of sending an American to France, where he had no kindred or friends. A wealthy planter named Boré claimed the right to give the aged priest a home. Father John James le Prédour, who had been laboring since 1754 in his distant Alibamon mission, did not hear the cruel order for a long time, and then it was months before he could reach New Orleans to be sent off as a criminal.

On the night of September 22d, the courier reached Fort Chartres in English territory, but as the fort had not yet been transferred, the king's attorney proceeded the next day to carry out an order which he knew it was illegal on his part to enforce. He read the decree to Father Watrin, a man of sixty-seven, and expelled him and his fellow-missionaries, Aubert and Meurin, from the house at Kaskaskia. They sought refuge with the missionary of the Indians. The Kaskaskias wished to demand that the missionaries should be left among them, but Father Watrin dissuaded them. The menacing attitude of the Indians, when it was proposed to demolish the chapel in their village, had its effect. The French at Kaskaskia asked in vain that Father Aubert, their pastor, should be left to them, but the king's attorney seized not only the plate and vestments of the Illinois churches, but those brought during the war by Father Salleneuve from Detroit, and Father de la Morinie from St. Joseph's River. In a few days the vestments used in the august sacrifice were cut up and seen in the hands of negresses, and the altar crucifix and candlesticks in a house that decent people had always shunned. He sold the property, pretending to give a French title for land in an English province, and requiring the purchaser to do what he apparently feared to do, demolish the chapel. He even sent to Vincennes, where the property of the Jesuits was seized and sold, and Father Devernai, though an invalid for six months, carried off.

The Jesuits, torn from their missions, were then taken down to New Orleans, meeting sympathy at every French post, the Capuchin Father Irenæus, at Pointe Coupée, doing for them all that he could have done for the most esteemed of his own brethren. The Capuchins at New Orleans came to receive them with every mark of sympathy, and obtained a house adjoining their own to shelter them, and in gratitude the books which had been spared to the Jesuits, and which formed a little library, were given by them to the Capuchin Fathers.

The Illinois Jesuit Fathers were put on the first ship, the "Minerve," which sailed February 6th. All were sent away except Father de la Morinie, who was allowed to remain till spring, and Father Meurin, whose request to be permitted to return to Illinois was sustained so strongly, that the council yielded.[1] But he was not suffered to ascend the Mississippi to minister to the Catholics from Vincennes to St. Genevieve, destitute of priests and of every requisite for divine service, till he signed a document that he would recognize no other ecclesiastical superior than the Superior of the Capuchins at New Orleans, and would hold no communication with Quebec or Rome.[2]

The Illinois territory had lost also the Priests of the Foreign Missions. When the Rev. Francis Forget Duverger saw the country ceded to England, and beheld the French officials from New Orleans make open war on religion, seize church vestments and plate, and order the Catholic chapels to be razed to the ground, he seems to have thought that all was lost, and that religion in Illinois was extinct. Without

[1] "Bannissement des Jésuites de la Louisiane," pp. 1–50.

[2] Letter of F. Meurin to Rt. Rev. Oliver Briand, Bishop of Quebec, March 23, 1767. Archives of Archbishop of Quebec. "Bannissement des Jésuites," p. 62.

any authority he sold all the property of the Seminary, including a good stone house erected by him, and a lot of about seven acres, with mills, slaves, and all implements, though of course his deed conveyed no title. His parishioners remonstrated, but he persisted, and abandoning his parish descended the Mississippi with the Jesuit prisoners, whom he accompanied to France.

After the Jesuit Fathers were carried off from Louisiana the population of New Orleans, estimated at about four thousand, including slaves, and all the Catholics, French and Indian, in the Illinois country, had no priests to attend them except nine or ten Capuchin Fathers, on whom all the parochial work and the Indian missions devolved, as well as the care of two hospitals and the Ursuline Convent, with its academy and free schools. Five were employed in New Orleans.

It was, of course, utterly impossible for them to meet all the wants of so large a district. They had already withdrawn from the chapel at the fort below the city of New Orleans and from Chapitoulas. Father Barnabas was stationed at the fine church at the Côte aux Allemands; Father Irenæus still directed that at Pointe Coupée. Another Father was stationed at Natchitoches, near which the remnant of the Apalaches had settled. Mobile had been ceded to England, and Father Ferdinand was preparing to withdraw as soon as the French flag was lowered.[1]

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[1] Father Philibert Francis Watrin, "Memoire Abregée sur les Missions de la Colonie nommée Louisiane," transmitted to the Propaganda in 1765. On the 14th of April, 1766, Father Simon ex Parey, Provincial of the Capuchin province of Champagne, wrote from Sedan to the Propaganda soliciting special powers, the Bishop of Quebec being dead and Canada in the hands of the English. Archives of the Propaganda.

The only priest of Louisiana birth I trace in this period, is Father Stephen Bernard Alexander Viel, S.J., a poet and scholar, born at New Orleans, Oct. 31, 1736, died in France in 1821.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE CHURCH IN MAINE, 1690–1763.

The earlier mission work within our limits performed by the regular and secular clergy connected with the Church in Canada was purely an outgrowth of Catholic zeal for the conversion of the heathen, a desire to save some of the almost countless tribes of Indians scattered over the country.

At the period we have now reached, however, the menacing character of the English colonies led to a change. The government both in France and Canada had for a time shown itself less disposed to favor the missionaries, and if from 1690 an interest is evinced in their work, it was rather to use them as instruments of the government to further its political, military, or commercial views than for any real interest in the spread of the gospel.

As the English colonies were constantly hounded on by their magistrates and ministers against everything Catholic, laws, proclamations, newspapers, sermons, and religious tracts, all breathing the most unchristian hatred of the Church, its clergy and faithful, the position of missionaries in tribes along the frontier of the French and English possessions became one of constant danger, and they could continue their labors only by conforming to the wishes of the Canadian authorities, if they looked to them for protection and support.[1]

[1] A Massachusetts statute in 1692 forbade any French Catholic to reside or be in any of the seaports or frontier towns in the province without license from the governor and council. Williamson, ii., p. 25.

"If the interest of the gospel did not induce us to keep missionaries in all the Indian villages, Iroquois, Abnaki, and others," wrote the Marquis de Denonville in 1690, "the interest of the civil government for the benefit of trade ought to lead us to contrive always to have some there, for these Indian tribes can be controlled only by missionaries, who alone are able to keep them in our interest, and prevent them any day turning against us. I am convinced by experience that the Jesuits are the only ones capable of controlling the mind of all these Indian nations, being alone masters of the different languages, to say nothing of their ability acquired by long experience among them successively by the missionaries, whom they have had and continue to have in considerable numbers among them."

This placed the missionaries in a deplorable position. From the neighboring English they could expect only hatred and hostility; from the French, support only on conditions repugnant to them as priests, and made endurable only by national feeling. France had retained a foothold in Maine at Pentagoet, the present Castine, but her statesmen neglected to fortify the position or form a strong colony there, as they might easily have done by sending over impoverished farmers from the overcrowded districts of France. Pentagoet had but a feeble life, and though the parish of the Holy Family was erected there, population declined rather than increased, especially after the death of the Baron de Saint Castin.

At last, however, the French Government saw the danger that was born of its neglect. The English by possessing the Kennebec and other rivers had an open path to attack Quebec and wrest Canada from France.

The Abnakis in Maine, from the days of the Capuchin missions and the labors of Father Druillettes, had been friendly to the French. If in the wars that were now inev-

itable England could gain this tribe and use it against Canada, that province would soon be lost. Acting on this belief, the government in Canada encouraged the establishment of missions from the Kennebec to the Saint Johns, to which they had previously been indifferent.[1]

The Fathers of the Society of Jesus who had gathered Abnakis at Sillery, and subsequently founded for them the mission of Saint Francis on the Chaudiere, revived their mission in Maine in 1688, when Father Bigot erected a chapel at Narantsouac, now Norridgewock on the Kennebec, and about the same time the Recollect Father Simon established a mission at Medoctec on the River St. John, near the present Maine border.[2]

The Jesuit Father, Peter Joseph de la Chasse, was for twenty years connected with the Indian missions in Maine, on which also Fathers Julian Binneteau and Joseph Aubéry also labored earnestly. By their exertions the Canibas, Etechemins, and Penobscots were all gained, and became Catholic tribes.[3]

The parish at Pentagoet had remained in the hands of the Seminary of Quebec, but the white population was so trifling that the Rev. Mr. Thury found most of his flock to be Indians. He devoted himself to their service, preparing prayers and hymns in their language, and exercising a most beneficial

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[1] Where clergy are paid by the State, the Government and its officials always regard them as a sort of underlings whom they can on all occasions require to act as they see fit. Every commandant of a post like Cadillac, Villebon, etc., considered missionaries bound to leave or change missions, go or come at his option. "Coll. de Manuscrits," ii., pp. 148, 155.

[2] "Collection de Manuscrits," Quebec, 1884, ii., p. 2.

[3] "Collection de Manuscrits," Quebec, 1884, ii., p. 127. The zeal of Father Aubéry so offended the English that a price was offered for his head. Ib., p. 52. "Parolles des Sauvages de la Mission de Pentagoet," ib., pp. 34, 38. Aubéry was near Pentagoet between 1700 and 1709. Maurault, p. 498.

influence. He was, however, called upon to gather and instruct the Nova Scotia Indians, and died at Chebucto, June 3, 1699, mourned by the Indians there as a father and a friend.[1]

The Rev. James Alexis de Fleury d'Eschambault, who replaced the great missionary, died in his labors in 1698;[2] but his place was taken by Rev. Philip Rageot, who continued till 1701, aided for a time by Rev. Mr. Guay, who retired with him, and by Rev. Anthony Gaulin, a pious and esteemed priest, who closed his pastorship in 1703.[3]

The Seminary of Quebec had been urged by Bishop Saint Vallier in 1693 to assume the charge of all the Indian missions in Maine, but had declined the responsibility. At this time they felt that the missions should be in the hands of one body, and relinquished the post at Pentagoet to the Jesuit Fathers. From this time it ceased to be regarded as a parish, and an Indian fort further up the river became the seat of the mission.

The organizing of church work among the Maine Indians

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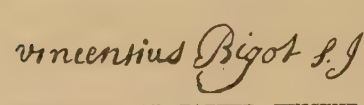
[1] Diéreville, "Voyage," pp. 55, 180.

[2] "Collection de Manuscrits," ii., pp. 78, 306, 386. Cardinal Taschereau, "Memoire sur la Mission del Acadie du Seminaire de Quebec." "Archives de l'Archevêché de Québec." "New England Hist. Gen. Register," 1880, p. 92. Villebon wrote to the Minister in France, Oct. 27, 1699: "Of the five priests whom the Bishop of Quebec ought to maintain here, there is one at Pentagoet, who has with him a young ecclesiastic, who does not yet say mass. I humbly beg you, my Lord, to see to this and send me a chaplain from France. There are very worthy Irish priests, and it would be very advantageous to have some of that nation with reference to the Irish Catholics who are in Boston, and who not being well treated there, would much more readily decide to come among us, if they knew we had a priest of their nation." "Collection de Manuscrits," ii., p. 330. The remains of the old fort are still visible at Castine, and the position of the Church of the Holy Family could be easily fixed. See plan in Wheeler, "History of Castine, Penobscot and Brooksville," Bangor, 1875, p. 186.

[3] Williamson, "History of Maine," i., pp. 648–9.

had not been unnoticed by the authorities of Massachusetts, which then claimed jurisdiction over Maine. In 1698 commissioners from the Bay Colony meeting the Indians in conference at Pentagoet, required them to dismiss the missionaries at that place, Norridgewock, and Androscoggin, but the Indians replied: "The good missionaries must not be driven away."[1]

In 1699 Father Vincent Bigot, who had been stationed at Narantsouac on the Kennebec, was prostrated by sickness, and compelled to retire to Quebec; but his place was filled by his brother James, who accompanied his Indians down the river to the coast, the Abnakis wishing to obtain some of the tribe who were held as prisoners by the English in exchange for prisoners in their hands, and also to make purchases of necessaries of which they were destitute.



SIGNATURE OF FATHER VINCENT BIGOT.

Narantsouac at this time had its chapel, erected in 1698, well attended by the fervent converts.[2] The missionary here was Father Sebastian Rale, a native of Franche Comté, who reached Quebec October 13, 1689, and had prepared himself for his work by spending several years at the St. Francis mission and in Illinois. He was stationed next at Narantsouac, now Indian Old Point, a sequestered spot on the Kennebec River. Here he began a pastoral care which closed only when his body, riddled by New England bullets, sank in death at the foot of his mission cross. He attended his flock at the village, to which he soon drew a neighboring tribe of kindred origin, the Amalingans. His daily mass, catechetical instructions,

[1] "Collection de Manuscrits," ii., p. 312; "Lettre du père Jacques Bigot, 1699," in "Relation des Affaires du Canada," New York, 1865, p. 63.

[2] Apparently in 1693 or 1694.

visits to the cabins to attend the sick or rouse the tepid, these formed his daily round of care, with his duties in the confessional, his sermons, and the more pompous celebration of the great festivals. Of the language he was an earnest student, and while at Saint François in 1691, began a dictionary of the Abnaki, completed as years rolled by, and which is still preserved in Harvard College.[1]

While Father Rale was laboring on the Kennebec in 1700, Father Vincent Bigot was again at his mission near Pentagoet. A letter of that time tells how he was edified by the zeal and piety of the converts. An epidemic scourged their villages, but they showed the depth and solidity of the Christian teaching which they had received, attending mass and the prayers in the chapel when scarcely able to drag their bodies from their cabins.[2]

In 1701 the New England authorities treating with the Abnakis, again ordered them to send away the three French Jesuit Fathers who were in their villages and receive Protestant ministers from New England. The Indians would not listen to the proposed change, and said to the English envoy: "You are too late in undertaking to instruct us in the prayer after all the many years we have been known to you. The Frenchman was wiser than you. As soon as we knew him, he taught us how to pray to God properly, and now we pray better than you."[3]

The missionaries were not blind to their own danger, and

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[1] It was published by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, in the volume of Memoirs for 1833, under the editorship of John Pickering.

[2] V. Bigot, "Relation de la Mission des Abnaquis," 1701, New York, 1858.

[3] Bigot, "Relation de la Mission Abnaquise," 1702. New York, 1865, pp. 23–4. Father Bigot is said to have been recalled in 1701. "Collection de Manuscrits," ii., p. 386.

seeing the false position into which the government was forcing them, urged that lands should be assigned in Canada, to which the Abnakis could remove and practice their religion in peace. An attempt was made by Vaudreuil to carry out this idea, but as his course was censured, it was abandoned.[1]

Massachusetts claimed all Maine as English territory, and the Abnakis as subjects; but in attempting to settle that district she paid no regard to the Indian title and made no attempt to purchase any portion of their lands. The Abnakis resented the intrusion of settlers by killing cattle and at last burning the houses of the unwelcome New Englanders. The French Government encouraged the Indians to prevent English settlement on their lands, and the missionaries used their influence under the direction of the Governor-General of Canada. This could not but lead to disastrous results.

In 1704–5 Massachusetts expeditions were fitted out to destroy the mission stations. One under Major Church ravaged the villages on the Penobscot, and another under Col. Hilton penetrated to Father Rale's mission, but finding the Indians absent, burnt all the wigwams, as well as the church with its vestry and the residence of the missionary, after they had pillaged and profaned all that Catholics revere.[2] Besides the Indians at Norridgewock other bands were visited by Father Rale. One of these at Lake Megantic removed to Canada and founded the mission at Becancour in 1708.[3]

When peace was restored the Indians prepared to rebuild

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[1] "Collection de Manuscrits," ii., pp. 406, 447.

[2] Penhallow, "History of the Wars of New England" (Cincinnati ed.), pp. 29, 38; Church, "History of the Eastern Expeditions," p. 120; Williamson, "History of Maine," ii., pp. 47, 49.

[3] See Concession in Maurault, "Histoire des Abénakis," Sorel, 1866, p. 285.

their church, and as the English were nearer to them the Abnakis sent a delegation to Boston to solicit carpenters, promising to pay them well. The Governor of Massachusetts offered to rebuild the church at his own expense if they would dismiss Father Rale and accept a Protestant minister. The Abnakis declined, and again contrasted the indifference of the English to their salvation with the zeal shown by the French. A temporary bark chapel was then built, and the Governor-General of Canada, on hearing of their loss, sent mechanics who erected a new church. Of this edifice Father Rale wrote: "It possesses a beauty which would win admiration for it even in Europe, and we have spared no pains to adorn it."[1] This church in the wilderness was supplied with sets of vestments, copes, and plate for the altar. The missionary had trained forty Indian boys who served as acolytes in cassock and surplice. On the altar were candles made by the missionary from the wax of the bayberry.

The Indians all attended his daily mass and met there in the evening for prayers.

During the hunting season and the fishing season on the coast the missionary moved with his flock, and a tent became the chapel of the tribe.[2] On one of his journeys he fell and broke both his legs. To obtain proper treatment he was conveyed in his helpless condition to Canada. Recovering there he returned to the Kennebec, although he knew that a price had been set on his head.

The church was completed in 1718, at which time the French king gave also means to complete the church at Medoctec, on the St. John's.[3] Father Lauverjat had his chapel

[1] Rale, Letter of October 12, 1723. [2] Letter of October 15, 1722.

[3] This spot was east of the Maine boundary on the St. John's, where the Eel River enters; but the Malecite tribe who attended it were Maine Indians. Williamson, i., p. 477. "Collection de Manuscrits," iii., pp. 28, 42, 44, 48, 54.

above Pentagoet, so that there were two Catholic churches then in Maine, with one just beyond the present line.

The New England feeling against Father Rale was so intense that the General Court of Massachusetts resolved to have him brought to Boston a prisoner or a corpse. A proclamation was issued requiring the Indians to surrender Rale and every other Jesuit priest.[1]

Governor Shute had written to Vaudreuil, the Governor-General of Canada, to recall the missionaries, but he replied: "As to Father Rale and the other missionaries whom you wish me to recall, permit me, sir, to tell you that I do not know that any one of them is on territory under the sway of Great Britain; and as the Abnakis among whom the missionaries are, at whom you take umbrage, have never had any but Roman Catholic priests to instruct them, since they have been enlightened with the rays of the gospel, they will have just ground to complain of me, and I believe that God would hold me accountable for their souls, and the king would censure me severely, if I deprived these Indians against their will of the spiritual succor which they receive from their pastors, and whom they need to persevere in the religion in which they have been brought up."

Shute in replying April 3, 1722, says of Father Rale: "All that I have to say to him, and to say to you in regard to him, is, that Norridgewock, which is his mission, is dependent on the territory of King George, and that by a law of the Parliament of Great Britain and the laws of this province all Jesuits or Roman Catholic priests are forbidden to preach or even to remain in any part of the kingdom."[2] Shute endeavored to create a rival mission, and sent a learned and able Protestant minister, Rev. Mr. Baxter, to

[1] Williamson, ii., p. 107.

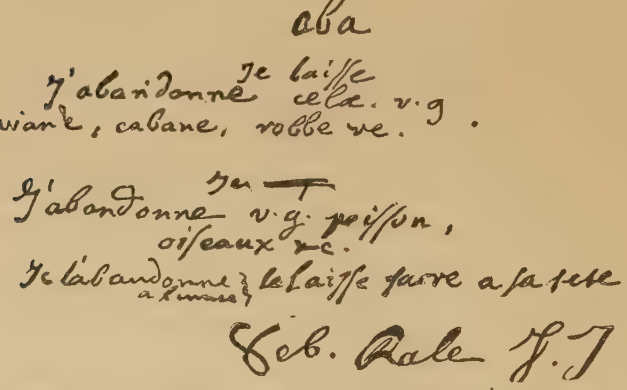
[2] "Collection de Manuscrits," ii., pp. 66, 77.

found an Abnaki mission in 1717, but the envoy was soon disheartened and abandoned the field, after a controversy with Father Rale on doctrinal matters.

Again it was determined to strike a blow at the two churches and their priests. In February, 1722, Colonel Westbrook, appointed by Governor Dummer to command in the East, marched to the Penobscot, and ascending to the Indian fort, from which the Indians retired, set fire in March to the church and wigwams. The shrine of Catholicity at that point, a handsome, well-finished chapel, sixty feet by thirty, probably on Fort Hill, above the mouth of the Kenduskeag, with the neat house of the priest, was again laid in ruins.[1] Father Lauverjat, undeterred by the danger, still continued his mission among the Indians there, and Father Loyard, of Medoctec, proceeded to France in 1723 to plead the cause of these Indian Catholics. In the autumn of 1722, Colonel Westbrook led a force of 230 men against Norridgewock. Fortunately two young Indians saw the party and hastened to the village to give the alarm. Father Rale consumed the consecrated Hosts in the ciborium of his chapel and escaped into the woods bearing the sacred vessels. A cripple and burthened, he was not able to penetrate far into the forest without snow-shoes. Crouching at last behind a tree, he commended himself to God. The enemy, finding his church and house vacant, pushed on in keen pursuit, but though they passed his lurking-place, failed to detect him. Abandoning the search, at last they returned to the village and pillaged the church and house, carrying off everything they were able to

[1] Penhallow, "The History of the Wars of New England," p. 94; Williamson, "History of Maine," ii., pp. 120–1; "Mass. Hist. Coll.," II., viii., p. 264; Hutchinson, "History of Mass.," ii., p. 273.

transport—his strong box,[1] papers, letters, his Indian dictionary, and even his writing materials. Father Rale underwent great sufferings in the woods, and well-nigh perished before relief reached him from Quebec. His correspondence with the Governor-General of Canada, which was captured, inflamed the New England authorities still more, and his life was in constant danger. His Indians, unable to cultivate their grounds, lived most precariously, and he bore them company in their wanderings, often with no food but acorns.



FAC-SIMILE OF OPENING WORDS OF FATHER RALE'S DICTIONARY AND OF HIS SIGNATURE.

That the Canadian Government did not recall him and assign lands to the flock which had so manfully adhered to the French cause seems unpardonable. Father Rale, himself, in spite of his sixty-seven years and his crippled condition, would not abandon his Indians. When Father de la Chasse urged him to provide for his own safety, he replied: "God has committed the flock to my care, and I will share

[1] This strong box has long been in the possession of the Waldron family, and was for some years in the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

its lot, only too happy if I am allowed to lay down my life for it." When the Indians, in the spring of 1724, wished to convey him to a safe retreat on the route to Quebec he said: "Do you take me for a cowardly deserter? What would become of your faith if I should forsake you? Your salvation is dearer to me than life."

In the summer, Colonel Moulton at the head of another force of whites and Mohawks cautiously made his way up the Kennebec, and under cover of the thick brushwood reached the Indian hamlet unperceived. A volley from their muskets riddling the cabins, completely surprised the Abnakis. There were but few braves in the village; they hastily seized their weapons and hastened to meet the enemy and cover the flight of their women and children. Conscious that he was the chief object of the invasion, Father Rale went fearlessly forth; and as soon as the assailants perceived the devoted priest they raised a shout, and a host of gleaming barrels were levelled at him. The next moment he fell at the foot of his mission cross pierced by their balls. Seven Indians who had gathered around him fell by his side, but with their fall all resistance ceased. While some of the assailants pursued the fugitives, others pillaged the church, profaning the sacred vessels; others wreaked their vengeance on the dead missionary, who was scalped, his head cloven open, his limbs broken. After setting fire to the church and houses, Colonel Moulton retired.[1]

The Indians returned the next day, and washing the mu-

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[1] The scalping is recorded by Penhallow without disguise. Massachusetts constantly offered rewards for scalps even of women and children, and ministers who accompanied expeditions, like Rev. Mr. Fry, scalped those whom they killed. See "New York Post-Boy," Sept. 2, 1748, and July 23, 1750; "New York Mercury," June 23, 1755.

tilated body, interred it at the spot where he had offered the holy sacrifice the day before.

The Norridgewock Indians, after burying the slaughtered missionary and their kindred, retired to the Abnaki villages in Canada, and for some years no measures were taken to restore the mission. Church plate and vestments, with furniture for a mission-house asked of the King of France the year before, were granted in 1738, but the Indians had already begun to occupy once more their old home, and the Jesuit Father de Syresme, apparently in 1730, erected a chapel on the Kennebec. When he visited the St. Lawrence the next year, there was a general movement among the Abnakis to return to the Kennebec, and the government, to prevent it, proposed to recall the missionary.[1]

Soon after Father Lauverjat, who had been endeavoring to uphold religion on the Penobscot, which the young St. Castins dishonored by their disregard of all morality, was transferred to Medoctec; but he was still in charge of the Indians at Panawamske in 1727,[2] though the French Government was endeavoring to induce the Indians there and at Medoctec to remove to Canada.

After the retirement of Fathers Syresme and Lauverjat, we find no evidence of any other resident pastor of the Catholic Indians of Maine. Their intercourse with the missions at Saint Francis and Bécancour was constant, and Father Charles Germain, who was stationed at St. Anne's mission on the Saint John's River, exercised a beneficent control over the Indians on the Kennebec and Penobscot, and apparently visited them from time to time, saying mass for them

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[1] "Collection de Manuscrits," iii., pp. 136–7, 141, 147, 153, 155, 160; Le Beau.

[2] Ibid., p. 135; "N. Y. Colonial Documents," x., p. 128.

by stealth like his fellow-religious in Virginia. He may be regarded as the last of the old missioners to the Indians of Maine, who planted the faith so firmly in the hearts of that Algonquin race that neither privation of priest and altar, nor the allurements of prosperous and pretentious error could lure them from it.[1]

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[1] Father Charles Germain, born May 1, 1707, entered the Gallo-Belgic Province, Sept. 4, 1728, and came to America in 1738.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN NEW YORK, 1690–1763.—FRENCH CLERGY.

When William III. was acknowledged as king by the Colony of New York, the only Catholics in the territory of the Five Nations were the still few lingering converts made by the Jesuit Fathers in the period of the missions, and the French and Indian captives brought in by the war parties of braves, many of them to die in torments at the stake, after enduring the most refined torture at the hands of their own people rather than gainsay the faith that was in them.

The only priest in the Iroquois cantons was the Jesuit Father Peter Milet, a prisoner himself at Oneida. His very life was at first in constant peril, but his old converts protected him, and having been adopted as a member of the tribe by a female Agoyander, he received the hereditary name of one of the sachemships of the tribe. The Iroquois woman who thus gave him a place in the councils of the League was apparently Susan Gouentagrandi. His position was thus a curious one: he was still a prisoner, but as Otasseté he took his seat in the councils of the Oneidas. His influence was so great that the English made every effort to put an end to his captivity, and the French to prolong it. Whether he was able to obtain vestments and a chalice in order to say mass, is not certain; but as early as 1691 he had a little grotto or chapel in Susanna's cabin dedicated to Our Dying Lord—"Christo Morituro," where he assembled the

Christians to celebrate the Sundays and holidays. Toward the close of the year 1690, the Mohawks invited him to their canton to hear the confessions of Christians there who desired his spiritual aid. But Susanna would not allow him to depart, fearing treachery; "the Catholic Mohawks," she said, "could always see Ὸtassetć in her cabin." Father Milet had a mournful duty to discharge in attending the French and Iroquois prisoners brought in by the braves of the League. Many of these died at the stake supported and encouraged by the brave missionary amid their exquisite torments. Recognized by the Canadian authorities as parish priest of Oneida, he received their verbal wills, which he subsequently proved in Canada. His captivity and mission lasted till October, 1694, when he reached Montreal, followed by Tarcha and an Oneida delegation to treat of peace.

It would be wrong not to give some details of the Christians who died in torments, displaying a holy fortitude worthy of record. Stephen Tegananokoa, captured by a Cayuga party, was taken to Onondaga; he was a fervent Christian, and had long edified the mission at Sault Saint Louis. When reproached on the scaffold with having left his canton to join the mission, he replied: "I am a Christian, and I glory in being one. Do with me what you will: I fear neither your outrages nor fires. I willingly give my life for a God who shed all his blood for me." On hearing this courageous answer his countrymen sprang upon him, cutting and mutilating his body in every part. One then cried out tauntingly: "Pray." "Yes," he replied, "I will pray," and as well as his fettered hands permitted, he made the sign of the cross, saying: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Furious at this, his tormentors hacked off many of his fingers, yelling: "Now pray to your God." Again he made the sign of the

cross, and they cut off all the remaining fingers, and for the third time with every opprobrious epithet bade him pray. Once more he endeavored to form on his body the symbol of redemption with the stump of his hand, but it was instantly severed at the wrist, and every spot he had touched was scored with slashes. This was but the prelude to a long, terrible torture, which he bore without a murmur, till feeling that his end was near, he asked a moment's respite, and commending his soul to God in fervent prayer, received the death stroke.

Two years after the pious Frances Gonannhatenha, who had been baptized at Onondaga, was made a prisoner with her husband and some others near the mission of the Sault. She was taken to Onondaga and given to her own sister, but that pagan, deaf to the cry of nature, gave Frances up to death. On the scaffold she, too, professed the faith with holy fortitude, and again that hatred of the Cross, which caused the death of René Goupil fifty years before, was displayed. One of her kinsmen sprang on the scaffold, and tearing off the crucifix that hung on her breast, cut a cross deep in her flesh. "There," he cried, "is the cross you love so much, and which kept you from leaving the Sault when I took the trouble to go for you." "Thank you, brother," replied the holy sufferer, "the cross you wrenched from me I might lose; but you give me one I cannot lose even in death." She urged her clansmen to become Christians, assured them of her forgiveness, and prayed fervently for them; but they prolonged her torture for three days, and after burning her from head to foot with red-hot gun-barrels, scalped her, and covering the bleeding head with hot coals, unloosed her, hoping to enjoy her frantic efforts to escape. But she, witness to the faith, knelt calmly down to pray. Then a shower of stones ended her heroic life.

The Onondagas did not even spare young Margaret Garangouas, daughter of the Tododaho, hereditary chief of the Iroquois league. Taken prisoner in her field, she was hurried away to her native town. There she was slashed from head to foot with knives and left for a time to endure the pain of her wounds. When she was a few days after condemned to die, she endured the fearful torments with heroic constancy, the names of "Jesus, Mary, Joseph," alone escaping her lips. Once she asked for water, but reflecting a moment she told them to refuse her: "My Saviour suffered great thirst when dying for me on the cross; is it not just that I should suffer the same torment for him?" Her torture lasted from noon to sunset; when scalped and released, she too knelt to pray. They tried to stab her and to beat her to death; but finally threw her still quivering body on a pile of wood and consumed her.[1]

Onondaga with Oneida was ravaged by Count Frontenac at the head of a large force in 1696, and when hostilities ceased the next year after the proclamation of the peace of Ryswick, the cantons were more disposed to respect the French. Negotiations were begun under the Count de Frontenac and concluded by his successor, de Callieres, in 1700. During the negotiations the veteran Father James Bruyas was sent with Mr. Maricour to Onondaga. He was received with great cordiality, and after addressing them as envoy of the French Governor, and delivering the appropriate belts, he begged the Onondagas to give especial attention to a third belt which he gave them in the name of Asendasé, that is, the Superior of the Jesuit missions in Canada. He expatiated on the love which the Superior had always felt for his Iro-

[1] Charlevoix, "History of New France," iv., pp. 296–303; "Lettres Edifiantes," Paris, 1720, xiii.; Kip, "Jesuit Missions," p. 117; "Relation des Affaires du Canada," New York, 1865, p. 17.

quois children, although the sun had been eclipsed so many years. "'He wished to revive the knowledge which he first gave you of the Lord God of armies, the Master of the Universe. You are to be pitied,' says Asendasé by my lips. Since the Blackgowns left you, your children die without medicine, and what is more to be lamented without baptism. You sachems, you warriors and women knew how to pray, but you have entirely forgotten, yet you know the Master of Heaven. Your Father Asendasé exhorts you by this belt to deliberate whether you desire a Blackgown. There are some ready to come. Do not refuse the offer which he makes you." [1]

The Indians avoided a direct reply to this proposition, as Governor Bellomont, of New York, had been exerting his influence to prevent the revival of the missions, and secured the passage of a law by the New York Legislature punishing with perpetual imprisonment any Catholic priest who should attempt to announce Christ to the heathen within limits claimed by that colony.

The missionary returned to Onondaga again in June, 1701, but was even less successful; when he attended the great council of all the Indian nations held at Montreal in August, he again delivered the words of Governor-General Callieres to the Iroquois.

The next year Catholicity in the cantons sustained a loss in the death of the younger Garakonthié, inferior in ability to his brother Daniel, but an earnest and unswerving Christian, upholding the missionaries and the cause of morality. In 1702 the cantons, of their own accord, responded to the

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[1] De la Potherie, "Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale," iv., pp. 152–3, 186, 241; Smith, "History of Canada from its First Discovery," Quebec, 1815, i., pp. 137–9.

appeal of the venerable Father Bruyas. They sent to solicit the return of missionaries.

To restore the church in the cantons the Superior of the Society of Jesus in Canada selected as missionary to Onondaga the veteran Father James de Lamberville, who set out with a lay brother. Father Julian Garnier proceeded to the Senecas with Father Vaillant du Gueslis. Early in October, with hearty thanks to God, the Jesuit missionaries reached Onondaga, and the chapels of truth were again opened for sacrifice and prayer.[1]

The missions thus restored were maintained during several years, for though England and France again declared war, the Iroquois had been won to neutrality, and that fierce nation remained at peace with civilized men warring around them. Father Garnier, broken by years of labor, was after a time replaced by Father James d'Heu, and Father Peter de Mareuil went to assist Father de Lamberville at Onondaga.

The English viewed the presence of Catholic priests with no good-will, and labored to induce the Iroquois to arm against the French; the young braves longed to go on the war-path, and the existence of the missions became precarious.

In 1709 Colonel Schuyler waited on Father de Lamberville at Onondaga and won his confidence by a show of friendly interest. Expressing regret that the English Governor had induced the cantons to join in the war, he advised the missionary to visit Canada in order to confer with the Governor of Canada. No sooner had Father de Lamberville departed, however, than he incited some drunken Indians to plunder the mission church and house and set them on fire. Still professing the greatest friendship for the missionaries,

[1] "N. Y. Colonial Documents," ix., p. 737; "Relation des Affaires du Canada," p. 35; Charlevoix, "History of New France," v., p. 155.

he persuaded Father de Mareuil that his life was no longer safe, and that his only way of escape was to accompany him to Albany. He concealed the fact that the Colonial Government had, on the 29th of June, issued an order for his arrest. Father de Mareuil accompanied Schuyler to Albany, where provision was made for his maintenance, but he was detained as prisoner till 1710.[1]

The Onondaga mission was thus finally broken up, the church and residence were in ashes, the missionaries had been lured away by deceit, and never returned.

Father d'Heu alone remained on his Seneca mission, but even the influence of Joncaire could not ensure his safety, though it effected his being escorted to Montreal before the close of the year 1709.[2]

Thus closed the Jesuit missions among the Five Nations in their own territory.

Roused at last to the vital importance of securing communication with the West and the valley of the Mississippi, France in 1720 began a fort at Niagara, and in 1731 of another at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain. Feeble at first, these posts became in time formidable fortresses. At each of these strongholds there was a chapel, and a Recollect Father was maintained as chaplain. The Register of Niagara was probably carried off by Sir William Johnson; that of Fort Saint Frederic survives like the walls of the old outpost of France, and shows a series of Recollect Fathers ministering there, from John Baptist Lajus in 1732 to Father Anthony Deperet in 1759. The holy sacrifice was therefore

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[1] "New York Colonial Documents," ix., pp. 829, 836, 838, 845; Charlevoix, "History of New France," iv., p. 215; "Calendar N. Y. MSS. Eng.," p. 365; "Collection de Manuscrits," i., p. 621.

[2] "New York Colonial Documents," ix., p. 830. He had replaced Father Vaillant in 1707.

offered at Crown Point, under the protection of the French flag, for more than a quarter of a century. As no settlement of any importance formed around either post, the services of the chaplains were evidently confined to the garrison. Of the priests at these two posts, one, Father Emmanuel Crespel, was three years at Niagara, probably from 1730 to 1733, and from November 17, 1735, till the 21st of September in the following year at Fort Saint Frederic. He was then sent back to France, but the vessel was wrecked on Anticosti, and nearly all perished by drowning or from the hardships they endured after reaching that desolate island. The Recollect Father was one of the few survivors, and he published an account of his shipwreck and of his missionary career in America.[1]

In 1749 the Jesuit Father, Joseph Peter de Bonnécamp, who had been professor of hydrography at Quebec, accompanied an expedition under de Céloron, who was sent by the Canadian Government to deposit evidences of French possession in the valley of the Ohio. The party descended the Ohio as far as the great Miami, and then crossed to Lake Erie. Father Bonnécamp was the first priest apparently who offered the holy sacrifice in the southern part of Ohio.[2]

In 1753 and the following year the French erected Fort Presquile on the bay opening into Lake Erie that still bears the name; the Fort de la Rivière aux Bœufs, near the present Waterford; Fort Machault, and at the confluence of the

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[1] The other missionaries at Fort St. Frederic were FF. Peter B. Resche, 1733; Bernardine de Gannes, 1734; Peter Verquaillie, 1736; Daniel, 1741; Alexis du Buron, 1743; Bonaventure Carpentier, 1747; Hypolite Collet, 1747; Didacus Cliche, 1754; Anthony Deperet, 1758.

[2] Céloron's Journal in Lambing, "Catholic Historical Researches," ii., pp. 60, etc., to iii., p. 32; O. H. Marshall, "De Céloron's Expedition to the Ohio," in "Mag. American Hist.," March, 1878.

Alleghany and Monongahela, Fort Duquesne. The Register of the last fort is still preserved, and from it we learn that Father Luke Collet, a Recollect, was chaplain at Forts Presquile and Rivière aux Bœufs, and Father Denis Baron at Fort Duquesne. A small silver chalice, used in all probability by Father Luke, was dug up at Waterford, near the ruins of the old fort, in 1804, and was purchased by Mrs. Vankirk, a pious Catholic lady, to save it from profanation. Besides these posts the Jesuit Father, Claude Francis Virot, who had labored on the Abnaki missions, was sent to the Ohio to found a mission among the Delawares, who had settled near the French. He planted his mission cross at Sakunk, as the Indians styled the mouth of the Big Beaver. Here he persevered in his good work till Pakanke, Chief of the Wolf tribe, drove him off.[1]

With the fall of the French power the service of the Church, maintained at Crown Point, Niagara, Erie, Waterford, and Pittsburgh, ceased.

Another French post was connected with a great Indian mission and deserves a more extended notice. This was Fort Presentation, on the site of the present Ogdensburg, with the mission founded there by the Sulpitian, Abbé Francis Piquet. This energetic priest, while serving in 1745 as chaplain to an expedition against Fort Edward, conceived the project of establishing near Lake Ontario a mission like those at Sault Saint Louis and the Lake of the Two Mountains. From his intercourse with the Iroquois still in their

[1] Zeisberger, Journal, April 23, 1770. Maurault, "Histoire des Abénakis," p. 400. Father Claude F. Virot was born February 16, 1721, entered the Society of Jesus in the province of Toulouse, October 10, 1738, was sent to Canada in 1750. After his Delaware mission he acted as chaplain to Aubry's force, and was killed in the attempt made to relieve Fort Niagara in July, 1759. Pouchot, "Memoires," i., pp. 109, 110.

old homes, he felt that a desire for Christianity lingered among them, and that many could be won to join a new mission station.

His design was encouraged by Governor de la Jonquière, who accompanied him in May, 1748, to select a site. The

PORTRAIT OF REV. FRANCIS PIQUET.

harbor at the mouth of the Oswegatchie, with fertile lands and abundant woodlands, offered every advantage. Here a palisaded work soon rose, and near it a chapel, named in honor of the patronal feast of the Sulpitians, La Presentation. He visited the cantons as far as Niagara, inviting the

well-disposed to join his mission. In the erection of the necessary buildings and defences at the spot he had selected, the Abbé Piquet expended thirty thousand livres, and was about to reap the reward of his zealous exertion when, in October, 1749, a Mohawk war party made a sudden raid and gave the place to the flames. They could not, however, drive the stout priest from the work he had undertaken. The Presentation mission rose from the ashes, and began

FORT PRESENTATION (OGDENSBURG), WITH CHAPEL OF REV. FRANCIS PIQUET.

with six families; but in two years there had gathered around the altar of the Presentation three hundred and ninety-six families, numbering three thousand souls, drawn chiefly from Onondaga and Cayuga, the fruit of Piquet's visits and exhortations. Those who had mocked the efforts of the zealous priest to revive the early mission spirit were silenced. The Mission of the Presentation of Our Lady was a triumph for the Church and a defence to Canada. Bishop

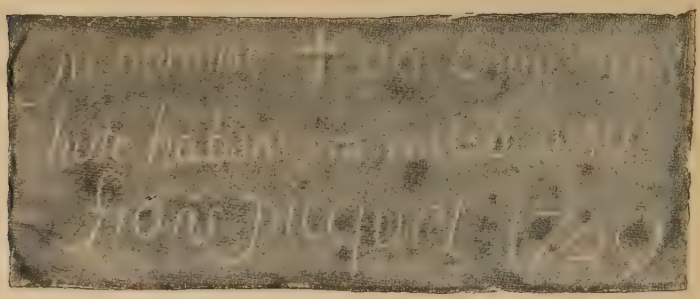
Du Breuil de Pontbriand visited the mission in May, 1752, and took part in instructing the neophytes. Then he baptized one hundred and twenty and confirmed many. It was undoubtedly the first confirmation within the limits of the State of New York. The ladies of Montreal wished to encourage the good work, and sent to the mission a beautiful banner, still preserved at the Mission of the Lake of the Two Mountains. It bears the totems of the Iroquois clans—the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle, their council fires, and the monogram of Christ. The new Iroquois town was governed by twelve chiefs, and became a model. Every visit of the Abbé Piquet to the cantons drew new accessions to the mission. With a few zealous coadjutors, all that was not utterly degraded in the cantons might have been won. Sir William Johnson called on the Indians to extinguish the fire at Oswegatchie. "We have no nearer place to learn to pray and have our children baptized," answered the chieftain Redhead. The Abbé Piquet went to France to obtain needed coadjutors, but he had scarcely returned when the war began which was to close the chapter of French power. During that struggle the Indians of all the missions were called to the field, and as the tide of success turned against them, Mr. Piquet and his Indians in 1759 abandoned Fort Presentation and made a new home on Grand Isle aux Galops, sometimes called Isle Piquet, where he erected a chapel for his flock. When all seemed lost the devoted missionary, after making a final entry in his Register, May 10, 1760, returned to France by way of Louisiana. His successor, the Sulpitian, Rev. John Peter Besson de la Garde, acting as chaplain in Fort Levis, was taken by the English, but was allowed to resume his labors as an Indian missionary.

The site of the mission of The Presentation has become in our day a thriving town, the see of a Catholic Bishop. The

corner-stone of Abbé Piquet's chapel was found some years ago, and now occupies an honorable place in the chief building of the city.

It bears the inscription: "In nomine ✠ Dei omnipotentis huic habitationi initia dedit Fran. Picquet 1749." "In the name of Almighty God, ✠ Francis Picquet began this edifice in 1749."[1]

Just as this mission was about to remove from the soil of New York the Jesuit Father, Mark Anthony Gordon, selected Aquasasne, "the place where the partridge drums," and there, with part of the people of the Caughnawaga mission at



CORNER-STONE OF REV. FRANCIS PIQUET'S CHAPEL, STILL PRESERVED AT OGDENSBURG.

Sault St. Louis, founded that of Saint Francis Regis, erecting a log-house for a temporary chapel. This perished by fire just before the close of the war, so that the year 1763 saw no chapel at the spot.

[1] The Abbé Piquet was at Corunna in 1762, and on reaching his native land received the approval of the French clergy and of the Sovereign Pontiff. After spending years in the active discharge of the ministry in France, he died at Verjon, July 15, 1781, in his seventy-third year, having been born at Bresse, December 6, 1708. "Memoire de la Lande" in "Lettres Edifiantes." Pouchot, "Memoires," ii., p. 284; Bossu, "Nouveaux Voyages," ii., pp. 284–5. Notes from Register of La Présentation; Smith, "A History of the Diocese of Ogdensburg, New York," 1886, p. 53.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE CHURCH IN MICHIGAN, INDIANA, WISCONSIN, AND MINNESOTA, 1690–1763.

The intercolonial struggle which is coeval with the accession of William III., seriously affected Catholicity in the northwest, as the French authorities in Canada, absorbed in the effort to preserve the province to France, could do little to extend civilization in the remote Lake region. The early spirit of faith, too, had waned. If missionaries were maintained it was less to aid them in the conversion of the heathen, than to make them agents in keeping tribes friendly from whom traders might obtain peltries.

There was not in 1690 any French settlement on the Upper Lakes; the projected Recollect missions had been abandoned; the Jesuit Fathers of whom Father Enjalran was Superior, had their Huron and Ottawa mission at Michilimackinac, where that Father and the veteran de Carheil still labored; Father Aveneau was at the Miami mission on the Saint Joseph's; the aged Father Nouvel conducted the Christian Indians on Green Bay; Father Joseph John Marest was endeavoring to found a mission among the Dakotas, near the banks of the St. Croix and St. Peter's. Fathers Albanel and Bailloquet were the only other missionaries in the West.

Mission labor was daily becoming more difficult, and the danger of the missionaries increased. Even at Michilimackinac the Jesuit Fathers were regarded as exposed to danger, till Louvigny, in 1691, encompassed their church and residence with a palisade.

The government grant for land on which to erect a chapel and house near the banks of the Saint Joseph's had been confirmed, and the chief centre of mission work on the Lakes was likely to be at that point.

The appointment of La Motte Cadillac as commandant at Michilimackinac, in 1694, foreboded ill to the cause of Western missions. Chimerical, grasping, overbearing, regarding religion only as an element to be used for purposes of government or trade, he displayed qualities that subsequently made his administration in higher position so stormy and unprofitable.[1] The missionaries had already learned his character, when in 1706 he was selected to found not a mere trading-post, but a fort and settlement on the Detroit River, where temporary establishments had already been made, and where formal possession had been taken in 1687.

When peace had been made, and the West was again open, Father Enjalran was dispatched to the West to invite the tribes on the Lakes to send their delegates to a general council.[2]

In the summer of 1701 Cadillac, appointed commandant at Detroit, and in all the western parts, and made Seigneur of the projected settlement, set out from Three Rivers with soldiers and settlers. The expedition was accompanied by Father Nicholas Bernardine Constantine Delhalle, a Recollect, who was to serve as chaplain to the troops and pastor to the people, and the Jesuit Father Francis Vaillant du Gueslis to act as missionary to the Indians. Detroit was founded July 21, 1701; Fort Pontchartrain, a solid work

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[1] Cadillac to the Minister, Aug. 3, 1695, condemning missionaries for checking sale of liquor; Margry, "Découvertes et Etablissement," v., pp. 31, 33, 35, 50, 54, 63; "New York Colonial Documents," ix., p. 418.

[2] De la Potherie, "Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale," iv., p. 102.

of timber, was at once begun, and five days later, on the feast of Saint Anne, a chapel in her honor was commenced near it. Here the Recollect priest began the first permanent service for his countrymen in a white settlement at the West.[1]

On learning during the route Cadillac's ideas and proposed system, Father Vaillant, who seems to have come with some misgivings, abandoned all intention of undertaking an Indian mission, and returned to Quebec. The project of Cadillac was to gather at Detroit, the Hurons and Ottawas from Michilimackinac; the Miamis from St. Joseph's River; and other western bands, to form the men into military organizations, teach the young Indians French, by means of the missionaries and Ursuline Nuns, whom he was to introduce, and to cause the settlers to take wives among the educated Indian girls. He gave out that he was a Moses raised up to lead these people out of their bondage; as commandant he claimed complete control over all within his jurisdiction, and regarded a missionary as a soldier, whom he could change as he would a sentry.[2] The missionaries appointed to their several stations by their Superior, in concurrence with the Bishop of Quebec, and in his name, could not recognize a new and independent authority. When Cadillac ordered the missionaries at Michilimackinac and St. Joseph's River to come to Detroit with the tribes to whom they had ministered, they did not feel bound to comply. They left the Indians to decide for themselves on the question of removal. The Ottawas were the first to transfer their wigwams to Detroit. A portion of the Hurons also went, till in 1703 only twenty-five of the tribe remained near Father de Carheil's chapel, and Cadillac wrote, "I am convinced that this ob-

[1] Margry, v., p. 191.

[2] This is clear in Margry, v., pp. 229, 287, 295.

stinate parish priest will die in his parish church without having a parishioner to bury him."[1] Father Aveneau, who had been joined by Father Mermet on the St. Joseph's, was soon after driven from his mission by Cadillac, Mermet proceeding to the Weas to attempt a mission among them. In 1705 Fathers de Carheil and James J. Marest, and apparently Enjalran, finding themselves without a flock at Michilimackinac, and not wishing the chapel to be profaned by bushlopers or Indians who passed that way, set fire to their buildings, and went down to Quebec, but their course was sharply censured by the government in France. An order was sent out that they should return and rebuild their chapel; but as it seemed useless to maintain a church where there was no congregation, the matter was dropped.

The Jesuit mission on the Lakes was thus reduced to that at Green Bay, whither Father John B. Chardon had gone in 1701, to aid the venerable Henry Nouvel, who had been for nearly forty years on the mission there, and who died at his post in 1702.[2]

The next year the little town of Detroit suffered from its first conflagration; a barn near the fort took fire, and the flames spreading, destroyed the church with the house of the Recollect Father, and the residences of Cadillac and Tonti.

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[1] Cadillac in Margry, p. 304.

[2] Margry, v., pp. 215–219; Martin, "Catalogue par Ordre Chronologique." The question of the sale of liquor to the Indians entered largely into the disagreement between Cadillac and the missionaries. The Jesuit Fathers, carrying out the rules of the Bishop of Quebec, condemned it. Cadillac, following the views of Frontenac, favored it, but only as a monopoly in his own hands. His reverence for the old Governor was intense: "Raising my eyes to heaven," he writes, "I sometimes cry in the weakness of my faith: Sancte Frontenac, ora pro me." Margry, v., p. 316. He was perpetually writing, and some of his imaginary conversations with Pontchartrain have been ludicrously cited by Sheldon, Campbell, and others, as though real and genuine.

The earliest Register of Detroit perished with this primitive shrine, October 5, 1703.

Cadillac, who had in his arbitrary and grasping course seized the property of two traders, was compelled to go down to Quebec in 1704, to defend the civil suit brought by those whom he had wronged, and he used all the arts of chicanery to prevent their obtaining redress.[1]

After the fire another church was erected, and Father Constantine resumed his labors. His Registry, opening February 2, 1704, with the baptism of Maria Teresa, a child of Cadillac, but covering only three pages, is still preserved, and is the oldest of the early French parish Registers of the West, beginning some months prior to that of Mobile.[2]

The withdrawal of the Indian missionaries was soon followed by a dangerous feeling in the various tribes. The Ottawas were especially inclined to join the English and Iroquois, and were full of suspicion of the French. While Father Marest in 1706 was on his way to Michilimackinac, the crisis came, hastened by the rashness of de Bourgmont, the commandant at Detroit. Provoked at a trifle, he beat an Ottawa so violently that the man died. Convinced that the commander meditated an attack on them, that tribe prepared to fight the French and the tribes favorable to them, especially the Miamis, of whom they were jealous.

Some of the Ottawa braves meeting a party of Miamis killed five, only one succeeding in escaping to the French fort. The Miamis hearing this, all fled from their village to the fort, under a heavy fire from the Ottawas. Father Constantine was walking in his garden unconscious of danger. He was immediately seized, and bound by some of the

[1] The Abbé Verreau has detailed the whole case, which is far from creditable to Cadillac.

[2] I owe access to it to the kindness of R. R. Elliott, Esq.

Cétemoin de moy frere constantin Delhalle frere Mineur
Marie
therese de la Recolet et aumonier au fort de pontchartrain
Motte
cadillac. certifie davoir conferé le saint Bateme a
Marie therese fille legitime de Monsieur
de la Motte
Antoine Cadillac commandant pour le
Roy au dit fort, et de Madame Marie
-therese Guyon ses pere et mere a eus pour
parain Mr Bertrand Arnauld et pour
Marine Mlle Genevieve le Bendre en foy
dequoy nous avons signez le 2me febvrier
de l'an 1704

frere constantin delhalle Recolet.
Arnaud
Genevieve Le Bendre

FIRST ENTRY IN THE DETROIT REGISTER.

Ottawas, but John le Blanc, one of their chiefs who had attended the great congress at Montreal, interposed and released him. Le Blanc asked Father Constantine to go and tell Mr. Bourgmont that the Ottawas had no designs against the French, and to ask him to suspend the fire from the fort. As the Recollect Father, anxious to put an end to the hostilities, was entering the fort, some Miamis joined him, and the Ottawas opened fire on them. A ball struck Father Constantine, and he fell dead on the spot, and a soldier near him was badly wounded. The fire was then renewed, and was maintained till the Ottawas withdrew with heavy loss.

The first pastor of the first French town in the West was thus slain in the noble effort to prevent the further effusion of blood. Unfortunately little is known of him. He arrived in Canada June 1, 1696, and had been engaged in parochial work at Longueuil and St. François de Sales, before he was appointed chaplain to Fort Pontchartrain. He was interred in the church where he had ministered.[1]

Father Dominic de la Marche, a Recollect Father who had just arrived from France, was sent the same year to Detroit to replace the one whose life had been sacrificed by the incapacity of the civil officials. He was missionary at Fort Pontchartrain from August 16, 1706, to May 1, 1708.

Meanwhile Father Marest had returned to Michilimackinac, and Father Aveneau to his mission on the Saint Joseph's, for the latter was sent to his old flock when an expedition against the Miamis failed. There the missionary labored to revive the faith among the Indians who, amid all this turmoil, had sadly retrograded. Charlevoix assures us that Father Aveneau, who spent eighteen years with the

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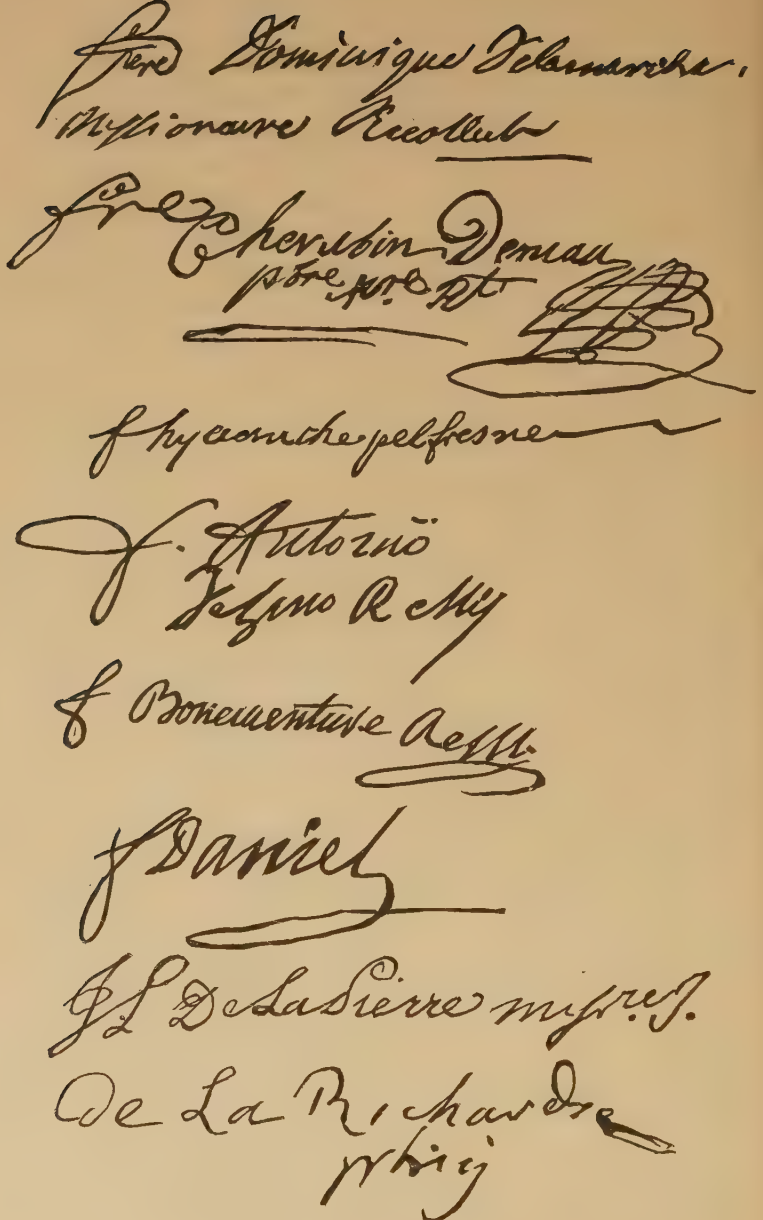
[1] Charlevoix, "History of New France," v., pp. 185–6; "N. Y. Colonial Documents," ix., p. 810; Tanguay, "Repertoire Général," p. 70.



SIGNATURES OF PRIESTS AT DETROIT.

Miamis, by unalterable mildness and invincible patience, succeeded in obtaining great influence over them.[1] He did not live, however, long after being restored to his mission, having died in Illinois on the 14th of September, 1711. Father Chardon was then for a time at the old mission station.

The next year Father Marest erected a church on the south shore, at what is now known as Old Mackinac, where de Louvigny in 1712 built a fort.

The French needed, indeed, to strengthen their position in the West, for the Foxes had drawn the Kickapoos and Mascoutens into a plot to destroy Detroit and the French settled there, and hold the place for the English, who had incited them. Du Buisson, the commandant, seeing their increasing numbers and insolence, sent to summon the allies of France, and prepared to defend the post with his little garrison of fifty men. The church where Father Delhalle reposed stood outside the fort, with a storehouse and dwelling near it. After removing the grain laid up there, the commandant, to prevent the Indians from using the buildings to attack the fort, or endangering it by setting them on fire, ordered the church and adjacent houses to be demolished; and in a few hours this second church was destroyed. The Recollect Father Cherubin Deniau, the missionary of this little flock of whites from 1707, erected within the palisade a new chapel dedicated to Saint Anne. When after a series of desperate engagements the Foxes were nearly exterminated by the allies and Detroit was saved, Father Cherubin celebrated a solemn high mass of thanksgiving, and the Te Deum was chanted in the palisade fort.[2]

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[1] Charlevoix, v., p. 202.

[2] Du Buisson's Report, June 15, 1712, in Smith, "History of Wisconsin," iii., pp. 317, 332.

During the troublous days when the turbulent Fox tribe menaced the power of France in the country of the Lakes, the Rev. Father Leonard Vatier, also a Recollect, is said to have been cut off by the Foxes and Sioux, but unfortunately we have no details of his death.[1]

The Recollect Fathers were generally sent to stations for a term of three years, and the isolation of the post at Detroit was such that few apparently sought to prolong their stay. Thus Father Hyacinth Pelfresne served from 1715 to June 3, 1717. Father Anthony Delino, who soon styled himself "Recollect priest discharging parochial functions at the Royal fort of Detroit, Lake Erie, and Lake Huron," began in Nov., 1719, but was recalled in March, 1722.[2] Detroit meanwhile had declined, and the Hurons and Ottawas who had settled near it, though many had their children baptized, were fast losing all trace of Christianity.[3]

However, the mission among the Miamis had been maintained under the Jesuit Father John de Saint Pé, who was stationed there in 1721, but the tribe had begun to move eastward, and the French had already two years previous taken steps to establish Fort Ouiatenon on the north bank of the Wabash, a few miles from the present town of Lafayette.[4] The missionaries of Saint Joseph's River probably accompanied their band on its migrations.

Father Bonaventure Léonard arrived in Detroit in June, 1722. He is the first to speak of St. Anne's as a parish. He

[1] Tanguay, "Repertoire Général," p. 71. The date of his death is given as Feb., 1713.

[2] Parish Register of Detroit. Calvarin, V.G., Mercier and Thaumur, of Tamarois, were at Detroit in August, 1718.

[3] Charlevoix, "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," iii., p. 257.

[4] Vaudreuil to the Council of the Marine, "New York Colonial Documents," ix., p. 892; Beckwith, "Historic Notes of the Northwest," Chicago, 1879, p. 104.

began a new church within the palisades, which occupied, it is said, a site on the present Jefferson Avenue, between Griswold and Shelby Streets.[1] When the church was sufficiently advanced he took steps to translate to it the remains of the first pastor, Father Constantine Delhalle. The Sieur Delisle, who had aided in interring the Recollect Father, guided the new pastor of Detroit to the spot, and two men set to work. The coffin was soon found, and his skull-cap, portions of his Franciscan habit and cord, and his hair cloth were enough to identify the remains, which were removed to the new church on the 14th of May, 1723, and placed under the platform of the altar.[2]

Father Chardon seems to have remained at Green Bay till about 1728, the solitary priest on the old mission ground west of Lake Michigan for several years; but he apparently withdrew when the expedition under de Lignery was sent against the Foxes. The forces, consisting of four hundred French and twice as many Indians, were attended by Rev. Mr. Péset, a secular priest; Father Emmanuel Crespel, a Recollect, and Father James Quentin de la Bretonnière, a Jesuit Father. The expedition entered Green Bay, and ascended Fox River to the Indian town, which they found deserted. On the homeward march, de Lignery demolished the French fort at Green Bay, and the mission there was apparently then abandoned.[3]

On the 17th of May, 1727, the French under Laperrière began the erection of Fort Beauharnois on Lake Pepin, the first post in our Minnesota. The government made an appropriation for the support of two Jesuit priests there, and

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[1] Farmer, "History of Detroit and Michigan," Detroit, 1884, p. 529.

[2] Entry in Detroit Register.

[3] Crespel, "Voiages dans le Canada," Francfort, 1742, pp. 15–29.

Father Louis Ignatius Guignas, who accompanied the expedition, founded the mission of Saint Michael the Archangel among the Sioux. He was the first priest after Father Marest to attempt to gain souls to Christ among the Dakotas. Father Guignas, after beginning his mission labors, attempted to reach the Illinois country in 1728, but was captured on his way down the Mississippi by the Mascoutens and Kickapoos, allies of the Foxes. He remained a prisoner in their hands for five months, and was at one time condemned to die in torture at the stake, but was saved by an old man who adopted him. His captors finally took him to the Illinois, where they left him on parole till November, 1729, when they removed him to their own town. On recovering his liberty, he seems to have returned to his Dakota mission, where he was still laboring in 1736.[1]

About 1730 Father Crespel visited Detroit and describes his fellow-religious, Father Bonaventure, as a zealous priest, given to study, rendering service as priest and teacher to his people, and conversant with the language of the Indians with whom he came most frequently in contact.[2]

The Indians around Detroit had been without a missionary from the time of the foundation of the place. Father Charlevoix represented strongly the necessity of reviving the early efforts to Christianize them. The Huron mission was revived in 1728, and soon after Father Armand de la Richardie appears as their spiritual guide.

Father Charles M. Mésaiger had been succeeded at the Miami mission on the St. Joseph's by Father Peter du

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[1] Guignas in "Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi," Albany, 1861, pp. 167–175; "New York Colonial Documents," ix., pp. 995, 1016–7, 1051.

[2] Crespel, "Voiage," pp. 34–5.

Jaunay,[1] while Fathers John B. La Morinie and Godfrey Coquart appear at Mackinac.

The Jesuits were still in the advance with the French explorers of the West. In 1731 Father Charles Mésaiger set out from the mission at Michilimackinac to accompany Pierre Gaulthier, Sieur de la Vérendrye, on his exploration through Minnesota to Rainy Lake, Lake Winnipeg, and the country of the Mandans.

Father Peter Aulneau, accompanying a son of the Sieur de la Vérendrye in a subsequent exploration, was killed by the Indians at the Lake of the Woods in 1736.[2]

The leading Huron chiefs at Detroit were hostile or indifferent to religion, and though Father Potier established a mission on Bois Blanc Island in 1742, he was forced to leave them five years afterward. Father de la Richardie, thoroughly discouraged, had returned to Quebec, but was recalled in 1747. In their winterings the Huron tribe frequently encamped at Sandusky, allured by the pure water found there. In 1751 Father de la Richardie induced a portion of the tribe to go and settle there permanently. They were the Indians least able to restrain their appetite for spirituous liquors. This mission was maintained here for several years. Chief Nicholas, an ally of the English, at last drove Father Potier from his chapel on the Sandusky, and the mission closed, though the faith was preserved among the Hurons till the present century.

The rest of the tribe gathered at Sandwich, where a church

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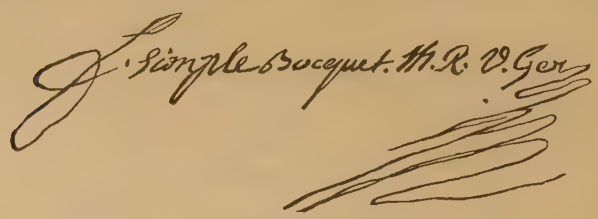
[1] In 1738. He was at Mackinac in 1742, Detroit in 1754. He died February 17, 1781. Martin, "Catalogue"; Tanguay, "Repertoire Général."

[2] Martin, "Catalogue par ordre Chronologique"; Mallet, "Origin of the Oregon Mission," "Proceedings U. S. Cath. Hist. Soc., February 11, 1886," p. 11.

had been erected for them in 1748; and during the latter part of the period we are treating, this Canadian band was under the care of Father J. B. Salleneuve.[1]

Detroit had taken new life. The population was increasing, so that the Recollect Father, Simplicius Bocquet, who had entered on his duties as parish priest on the 18th of September, 1754, undertook to build a larger church. It stood,



SIGNATURE OF FATHER SIMPLICIUS BOCQUET.

according to the historiographer of the city, west of the present Griswold Street, on ground now included in Jefferson Avenue. The new Church of Saint Anne was so far completed in the summer after his arrival, that on the 13th of July, 1755, he transferred to it the remains of the first pastor of Detroit, depositing them under the steps of the altar, to remain, however, only till the completion of the church. "Which," says the entry in the Register, "will permit us to give him a permanent and becoming sepulture conformable to his merit, and to the miracles which many trustworthy persons have reported to us to have been wrought through his intercession in favor of the whole parish."[2]

The little French city of the West was honored, says Far-

[1] "Collection de Manuscrits," iii., p. 348; "N. Y. Colonial Documents," x., pp. 114–116; "History of the Catholic Missions," p. 203. There are still extant two copies of a Huron Grammar written by Father Potier, a work on Huron Radicals, and a Census of the Hurons. Father Potier died at Sandwich, July 16, 1781.

[2] Register of the parish of St. Anne, Detroit.

mer, by the presence of the Rt. Rev. Henry Mary du Breuil de Pontbriand, who extended his visitation to Detroit. He dedicated the new church on the 16th of March, 1755, and remained for some weeks in this portion of his diocese.

RT. REV. HENRY MARY DU BREUIL DE PONTBRIAND, SIXTH BISHOP OF QUEBEC.

The Rt. Rev. Henry Mary du Breuil de Pontbriand, sixth Bishop of Quebec,[1] deserves especial mention in a history of

[1] Mgr. Peter Herman Dosquet, a native of Lille, was consecrated Bishop of Samos at Rome on Christmas day, 1725, by Pope Benedict XIII. and appointed Coadjutor to Bishop Mornay, whom he succeeded in 1734. He resigned the next year, having spent less than six years in Canada.

the Church in the United States, as he was the first incumbent of that see who performed any episcopal function within our limits, having conferred confirmation at Ogdensburg and Detroit, and exerted himself earnestly to place the religious affairs of Louisiana on a sounder basis by committing authority in that province to more zealous and responsible hands.

He was born at Vannes in Brittany, of a family of position, and was only thirty-two years of age when he was appointed to the see of Quebec. Notwithstanding his youth he was already Vicar-General and Canon of Saint Malo, and a Doctor in the Sorbonne. Having obtained his bulls from the great Pope Benedict XIV. on the 6th of March, 1741, he was consecrated at Paris on the 9th of April by Mgr. Gaspar William de Vintimille, archbishop of that city. He proceeded immediately to Canada and took possession of his see on the 30th of August, 1741. He was the last Bishop of Quebec under the French sway. After an active and zealous administration, in which he visited remote parts of his diocese, he beheld his episcopal city fall into the hands of the English. He retired to the Sulpitian Seminary at Montreal, where grief at the misfortunes of the flock confided to him hastened his end. He expired on the 8th of June, 1760.

Father Simplicius as vicar to Father Bonaventure, and as pastor and Vicar-General, presided long enough over the Church of Saint Anne to see the flag of France lowered in Canada and on the Lakes, and to see England lose the colonies for whose sake she had so long struggled to deprive France of her northern colony.

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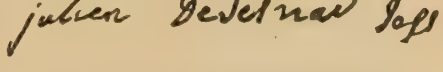
Mgr. Francis Louis Pourroy de l'Aube Riviere, consecrated December 21, 1739, arrived at Quebec on the 7th of August, 1740, and died on the 20th, at the age of 29, of a fever contracted while attending the sick on the ship. I trace no act of either of these bishops relating to our part of the country.

Far less tranquil was the lot of the Jesuit missionaries around him. As the tide of war seemed to turn against France, the Indians were alienated, and at some missions the Fathers were in want of the merest necessaries. Father de la Morinie left the mission on St. Joseph's River and ministered to the settlers at St. Geneviève, beyond the Mississippi. Father Salleneuve had retired in 1761 for a similar reason from the Huron mission near Detroit, bearing the chapel service. When the irreligious Council of Louisiana, veiling its hypocrisy under a specious pretext of zeal for the Church, sent men to Illinois to enforce its shameful decree, both these Fathers, with the property of the missions in their hands, were seized, although on British soil. The enemies of religion even sent and kidnapped Father Julian Devernai at Vincennes, and selling his winter provisions dragged him, although he had been suffering from disease for six months, to the banks of the Mississippi.

The men who pretended that the Jesuits had neglected their missions tore them from their churches, profaned them, broke up the missions, and, so far as they could, deprived the Catholics of the West of priest and altar, of all means of worshipping God or approaching the sacraments of the Church.

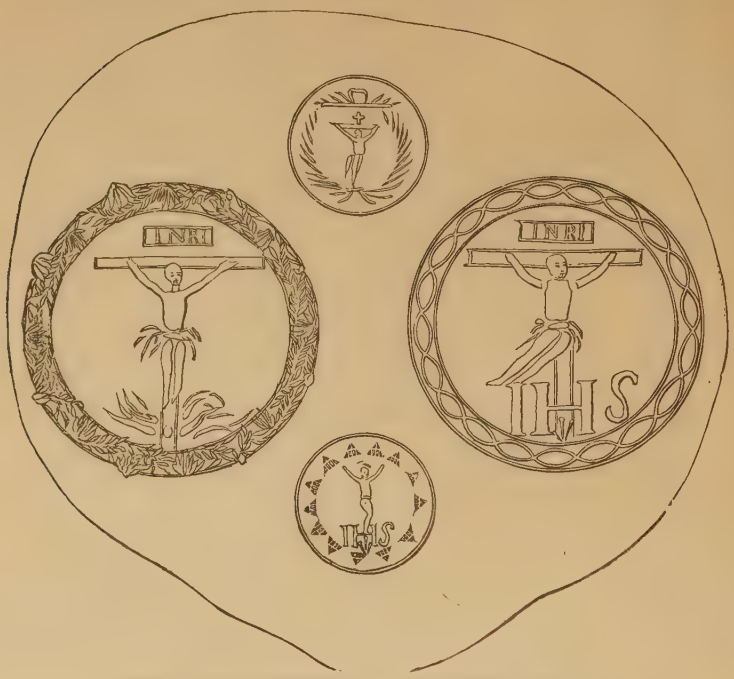


SIGNATURE OF FATHER DEVERNAI.

Fathers du Jaunay and Le Franc alone were left in the northwest, though Father Meurin, as we have seen, succeeded in returning to the scene of his labors.

Michilimackinac was the central point of the missionaries at the close of this period, and the church at Pointe St. Ignace preserved, to our times, a fine set of heavy velvet vestments, elaborately worked, in which perhaps mass was

said in the days of Louis XIV. Equally curious is another relic of the past there preserved, a bread-iron, wrought perhaps in the West by the lay brother whose forge did good service for white and Indian. It is a rude piece of work, and the lettering was evidently first cut into the iron by the unskilled but earnest artist. The introduction of the figure

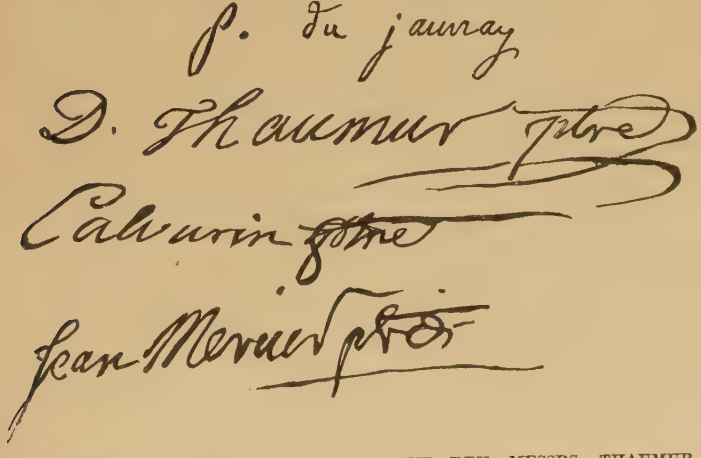



BREAD-IRON PRESERVED AT MICHILIMACKINAC.

in one of the large dies presented a difficulty that was strangely surmounted.

The Church in the northern parts where the French flag had floated, was in a pitiable condition. The Indian Catholics in Maine, New York, and Ohio, and the few French lingering near them, were without a single priest, or anything

worthy the name of a church. The parish of Detroit had, indeed, its priest; two Jesuit Fathers attended the Catholics on the Great Lakes beyond. The parishes of Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, and Fort Chartres, as of St. Geneviève, were without a priest to minister at their altars. The work of six-score years, from the visit of Fathers Jogues and Raymbaut, was recorded rather in the graves of the Faithful Departed, than in the living children of the Church and their pastors.



SIGNATURES OF FATHER DU JAUNAY AND REV. MESSRS. THAUMUR, CALVARIN, AND MERCIER.

## CONCLUSION.

The history of the Catholic Church in our present territory, from the first landing of colonists in Florida, under Ponce de Leon, to the year 1763, has been traced; various as were the national differences, the language, the ideas of government in those who came to settle, or in those whom they found, the Church one in her government, her doctrine, her sacrifice, everywhere established the same Christianity that she had planted among the Gaul, the Celt, the Saxon, the Teuton, the Iberian. Many as are the tongues of men, the Church has but one, that of unerring truth.

The Catholic Church in the United States claims all the early struggles of the first apostles, their weary marches, their untiring toil to instruct the rude and the savage, the constant offering of the Holy Sacrifice, the imparting of the sacraments to men of all races, as part of her glorious heritage, the heroic days of her history. Her priests were the pioneers, first to thread the great arteries of the continent, to plod over the Indian trail, to study the grandeur, the vegetable and mineral wealth of the land, to learn and perpetuate in scientific form the unwritten languages of our countless Indian tribes, to discharge unflinchingly the ministry of the altar and the Word, and to die, as full a hundred did, by savage hands, while heroically discharging their duty.

Ever counsellors of peace, toleration, and harmony, holding the shield of the crucifix between the oppressed and the oppressor, we see them with their flocks in the English colonies pursued for a hundred years by the bloodhounds of in-

satiate fanaticism, victims of penal laws that did not gratify the whole venom of their inventors, although they left the unhappy Catholic hardly aught but life itself.

Where the Catholic flags of France and Spain floated there were trials, too, from the jealousy or greed of officials, as well as from the barbarism of the tribes among whom the priests of old labored.

The Church was not planted without tears, and at this day the homage of respect is freely paid to the early apostles of the faith. But the old colonial feeling of misrepresentation still shows itself in two charges frequently made, the utter mendacity of which it may not be amiss to notice.

The first charge is, that the Catholic missionaries baptized the Indians, and received them into the Church without instruction. As one elegant writer expresses it, contrasting Catholic and Protestant missionaries: "While the former contented themselves with sprinkling a few drops of water on the forehead of the warlike proselyte, the latter sought to wean him from his barbarism, and penetrate his savage heart with the truths of Christianity."

But this charge is absolutely false. The records of the missionaries, English, French, and Spanish, show that instruction always preceded baptism in those who had attained the age of reason, and that when the fundamental truths were implanted in the minds of the catechumens, baptism was, except in rare cases, long deferred in order to test the constancy of the candidate. Baptismal registers frequently refer specially to previous instruction. The catechisms prepared for missionary use in Florida, Texas, Maine, New York, Michigan, Illinois, are extant to this day, and show how laboriously the missionaries endeavored to convey to the catechumens the fundamental doctrines in terms that an Indian mind could grasp, and with these truths the whole scheme of

Christian morality. The Spanish confesonarios, too, show how the minds were trained to distinguish in detail between right and wrong.

Those who make and repeat the charge cite no proof; the statements of the missionaries in all parts of the country show its utter falsity.

Another charge is that the French missionaries taught the Indians that they would assure eternal happiness by killing the English heretics. Bancroft, Parkman, and others, who have examined all the printed statements of the early missionaries, and numberless papers from their pens, will attest that no such doctrine can be found anywhere. There is not the slightest proof that can be cited, that Catholic priests inculcated any such ideas. Canada never sought war; she constantly proposed colonial and especially Indian neutrality. Her clergy did not, as their writings show, make denunciations of Protestantism and Protestants a topic for constant pulpit use. These same writers, from their familiarity with early New England history, will substantiate the assertion that books like the "Simple Cobbler of Aggawam," by Ward, and sermons by other New England divines, teem with matter intended and calculated to arouse the hatred of the people of New England against Catholics personally, and that more specimens of this unchristian spirit can be found in six New England tracts than in all Canadian literature.

The feeling of hostility to Catholics in the English colonies was kept up and maintained for political ends, and was a bond of harmony between the Puritan of New England and the Episcopalian of Virginia and Maryland. To what cruel legislative acts it stimulated the Protestants of Virginia, and to what bloody deeds it incited the men of South Carolina, we have had the sad necessity of stating.

At the period where our narrative ends this spirit had ap-

parently triumphed. Canada was humbled in the dust, her great missionary organization had been broken up; the Catholics in Florida saw no hope except in emigration. England had the will and the power to deprive the Catholics throughout the land of churches, clergy, even of real and personal property, and deport them all as paupers to some distant part as she had done the Acadians.

A tract printed at Edinburgh in 1763, but voices the general feeling which had been created against Catholics, when it advised the government "chiefly, to search out, with rewards for discovery, and make public examples of those plagues of society, disturbers of mankind, and constant source of mischief to us in these parts—whatever Jesuits, Monks, Priests, etc., can be apprehended anywhere throughout the whole country eastward from the Mississippi and Iberville."[1]

The country west and southwest of the Mississippi was still in Catholic hands, but the suppression of the provinces of the Society of Jesus in French and Spanish territory, left many districts without priests, and the faith of the people was gradually yielding to decay like the crumbling tenantless churches.

Darkness as of night was settling on the land, but it was the darkness that precedes the dawn.

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[1] "The Expediency of Securing our American Colonies."

## ADDITION TO PAGES 195, 200.

The band of missionaries who set out in 1628 reached Santa Fé on Whitsunday, one of the number, Father Martin Gonzales, dying on the way. Missions were at once begun among the Humanas, Piros, and Tompiros by Fathers Anthony Artiaga, Francis of the Conception, Thomas of San Diego, Francis Letrado, Diego de la Fuente, and Francis de Azevedo. An Apache mission was undertaken by Fathers Bartholomew Romero and Francis Muñoz. Father John Ramirez planted his mission cross at Acoma. Father Roque de Figueredo, a missionary of great ability and experience, already versed in several Indian languages, and a good musician, undertook the conversion of the Zuñi nation, taking up his residence at the town of Cibola, with Father Augustine de Cuellar. The Franciscans encountered great opposition here, the people being strongly attached to their idolatrous rites; but they finally triumphed. Some of the leading chiefs sought instruction, and after being tested were baptized on St. Augustine's day, 1629, Father Roque having on that day erected an altar in the plaza, and offered the holy sacrifice before administering the sacrament to them and to the infants of some catechumens.

Father Porras and his companion, Father Andrew Gulierrez, encountered similar obstacles at Moqui, but at last triumphed by what seemed to Father Perea, a miraculous change (Perea, "Verdadera Relacion," "Segunda Relacion").

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# A HISTORY

OF THE

# CATHOLIC CHURCH

WITHIN THE

*LIMITS OF THE UNITED STATES,*

FROM THE FIRST ATTEMPTED COLONIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

WITH PORTRAITS, VIEWS, MAPS, AND FAC-SIMILES.

BY

JOHN GILMARY SHEA.

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